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# **China Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 185**

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24 April 1981

CHINA REPORT  
 POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
 No. 185

## CONTENTS

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Test Flight of U.S. Space Shuttle (Feng Xiong; RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Apr 81) .....	1
'RENMIN RIBAO' Denounces USSR Envoy for Impropriety (Zhang Jie; RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Apr 81) .....	3
'XINHUA' Notes Soviet Threat to Poland (XINHUA, 5 Apr 81) .....	5
'XINHUA' Correspondent on Zimbabwe Refugees (XINHUA, 10 Apr 81) .....	7
'XINHUA' Correspondent Comments on Liberia Since Coup (XINHUA, 11 Apr 81) .....	8
'XINHUA' Feature on Thai Coup Aftermath (XINHUA, 4 Apr 81) .....	10
Venezuela's Caldera Holds Press Conference in Beijing (AFP, 6 Apr 81) .....	12
<b>Briefs</b>	
Acrobats Performance	13
Weinberger's Remarks on Poland	13
Venezuelan Party's Visit	13
Table Tennis Delegation	13
Warning Against Soviet Action	14

## PARTY AND STATE

Importance of Implementing Party Line, Policies Stressed (Cao Xianyong; WEN HUI BAO, 7 Mar 81) .....	15
Following Lenin's Example in Handling Differing Opinions Urged (Wu Liping; JIEFANG RIBAO, 11 Feb 81) .....	17
Emulation of Marx's Spirit, Devotion in Work Habits Urged (Wu Dekui; CHANGJIANG RIBAO, 2 Feb 81) .....	23
Twelve Tasks To Be Implemented This Year in Guangdong Outlined (NANFANG RIBAO, 26 Feb 81) .....	25
Guangdong Provincial People's Congress Holds Plenary Session (NANFANG RIBAO, 3 Mar 81) .....	27
Continuing 'February 7' Revolutionary Tradition Urged (Hu Chaosheng; CHANGJIANG RIBAO, 4 Feb 81) .....	29
'Ba Yi' Accuses Deng of Collaborating With Gang of Four (Ba Yi Radio, 11 Apr 81) .....	33
'Ba Yi' Raps Invoking Yanan Spirit To Purge PRC Cadres (Ba Yi Radio, 3 Apr 81) .....	35
Fostering Lei Feng Spirit Will Help Serve Modernization (WEN HUI BAO, 4 Mar 81) .....	37
Editorial 'Ideological Trash' With Lei Feng Spirit (Editorial; LIAONING RIBAO, 5 Mar 81) .....	41
Ba Yi Radio on Mourning for Victims of Wrong Policies (Ba Yi Radio, 4 Apr 81) .....	43
<b>Briefs</b>	
Tribute to Mao Dun	45
Hunan Nonparty Cadres	45

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'Ba Yi' on Purge of PLA Cadres in Next 2 Years (Ba Yi Radio, 2 Apr 81) .....	46
'Ba Yi' Criticizes Deng on Military Modernization (Ba Yi Radio, 13 Apr 81) .....	48
<b>Briefs</b>	
Nanning Public Security Rally	50

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

New PRC Documentary Tackles Youth Problems (XINHUA, 9 Apr 81) .....	51
Theoretical Guidance for Literature, Arts Stressed (Cheng Daixi; GUANGMING RIBAO, 17 Dec 81) .....	53
PRC Publishing House Marks 30th Anniversary (XINHUA, 9 Apr 81) .....	60
<b>Briefs</b>	
Guangzhou Mandarin Education	62
Total Publications	62
Book on Ye Ting	62
Fujian Birth Control	62
Hunan Broadcasting Meeting	62
'Works of Ceausescu'	63
Shanghai Workers Theater	63

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ON TEST FLIGHT OF U.S. SPACE SHUTTLE

HK100500 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Apr 81 p 7

[Article by Feng Xiong [1409 7160]: "U.S. Spacecraft Will Begin Test Flight Shortly"]

[Text] The newly designed U.S. space shuttle "Columbia" is scheduled for test flight on 10 April. If the test flight of this reusable spacecraft proves successful, the United States would no longer lag behind the Soviet Union in the outer space technology race. American space scientists have been working intensely on this for the past few years.

The U.S. Government has already invested nearly \$10 billion on this enormous flying machine capable of carrying cargo and man. It measures 121 feet in length and has a wing span of 79 feet. When not carrying fuel, it weighs 75 tons. Aside from the pilot and copilot, it can also carry five technicians, supplies and more than 30 tons of equipment and cargo. In the forthcoming test flight, the shuttle will orbit the earth 36 times, flying to a maximum altitude of 185 kilometers above the ground. It will enter the atmosphere at a speed of 28,082 kilometers per hour and descend at a speed of 333 kilometers per hour, finally landing on a stretch of a dried lake bed in California like an ordinary plane. After 2 to 4 weeks of overhaul, it will be ready to take off for space again. It can be used for 100 such trips. Thus, it is much more economical than previous spacecraft which could only be used once.

This shuttle is equipped with 5 huge jet propellers capable of providing a thrust of 6.245 million pounds, 30 times greater than that of a fully loaded Boeing 747. After being launched into space, the shuttle is maneuvered into orbit by its pilots. Reentry is completely automated.

In this test flight, the shuttle will also carry a telescope with a diameter of 8 feet to observe outer space light source. The spacelab will also conduct experiments impossible to be carried out on earth, such as the making of new alloys, new drugs and electron crystals.

The success of this test flight will not only signal the solution of the question of the reuse of vehicles in space technology but will also mean that scientists can go on space flights without too much prior training. Once this kind of spacecraft can fly normally between earth and space, NASA plans to sell seats to industrial and commercial establishments so they can conduct the above-mentioned

experiments. Of course the principal objective of the United States in developing this kind of spacecraft is a military one. The four communications satellites carried by this shuttle can be launched in mid-air and carry out reconnaissance 20,000 miles above the ground. This altitude is beyond the range of Soviet anti-satellite devices. Therefore, the Soviet Union has always been opposed to the development of this kind of spacecraft.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO DENOUNCES USSR ENVOY FOR IMPROPRIETY

HK131252 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Apr 31 p 7

[Article by Zhang Jie [1728 4814]: "The Soviet Ambassador Makes a Fool of Himself Before Others"]

[Text] In the Filipino capital of Manila, many people are talking about an incident which has occurred just recently. Although this incident is quite a small one, it shows the attitude of the Philippine Government and the diplomatic circles toward the Soviet policy of aggression and expansion and how unpopular the brazen Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is.

At a banquet on 25 March marking the opening of the annual open forum of the Philippine Ambassadors Association, Foreign Minister Carlos Romulo gave a report on Philippine foreign policy and the current world situation. He described the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a "new qualitative escalation," saying that "countries around the Indian Ocean and the Pacific and in the Middle East and Africa are now trembling with fear because Soviet armed forces have driven a wedge into a sensitive and strategically important area of the world." As he spoke, the Soviet ambassador to the Philippines Mikhaylov suddenly stood up and yelled: "Mr Minister, you have made a mistake here and I would like to say something in reply to this." His attitude shocked the 200 guests at the banquet. Romulo told him forthright: "Mr Ambassador, please note that we must respect the freedom of speech. You are free to defend yourself, but I am also free to speak." Seeing the reproachful look on the face of the other guests, the Soviet ambassador sat down in a huff.

After finishing his speech, Romulo courteously asked the Soviet ambassador to speak. However, we do not know whether it was due to his lack of preparation or overexcitement, but the Soviet ambassador was unable to justify the Soviet acts of aggression after speaking for nearly 30 minutes. One minute he said that the Afghan situation had "posed a threat to the security of the Soviet Union"; the next minute he said that Moscow "would not impose its ideology on others" but "would not tolerate any reactionary force to sabotage and interfere with the national liberation movement." In this lengthy process of "reply," the other guests whispered to each other and found the presumptuous attitude and lame arguments of the Soviet ambassador too much to bear. As the host of the occasion, the chairman of the Ambassadors Association could not but stop the Soviet ambassador by saying that he did not wish anyone to make lengthy speeches at this opening ceremony. It was only at the suggestion of Foreign Minister Romulo that the other guests listened with reluctance to the rest of Mikhaylov's speech.

When the Soviet ambassador finally finished his speech, the response was one of indifference. Foreign Minister Romulo wittily said that he found the Soviet ambassador's actions understandable. "I think the Soviet ambassador would not have qualified for his post if he did not come out to speak in defense today." Romulo also suggested that the other guests give a round of applause for Mikhaylov's "reply." In spite of this, the applause in the hall was very sparse. The former chairman of the association then stood up and said that he wished to have an opportunity to have an open debate with the Soviet ambassador because Mikhaylov's speech failed to answer his queries concerning Soviet policy. When a judge from the Philippine Supreme Court suggested that it was Foreign Minister Romulo's speech that deserved the applause, the guests immediately broke into a round of prolonged and enthusiastic applause. Mikhaylov became uneasy and embarrassed. When the vice chairman of the association at last declared that he would specially ask the Soviet ambassador to expound on the Soviet viewpoints and said he was willing to carry out an open debate with him, Mikhaylov just hemmed and hawed and did not seem to be too interested.

Even when they were leaving the hall, the guests were still discussing among themselves. Some people said: "Such rudeness as manifested in the interruption of the foreign minister's speech is seldom seen in diplomatic functions." Others complained that the Soviet ambassador was wasting their time. They said: "He could not make himself clear even if he was given 30 more minutes." Some even ridiculed the Soviet ambassador's provocation as "a farce." Foreign Minister Romulo later spoke to a friend: "Although he had been talking for 30 minutes, no one understood what he meant."

Apparently, for all his disregard for propriety and lame arguments, Mr Mikhaylov was unable to confound black and white and describe the dispatch of 100,000 troops to slaughter the people of another country as a cause of peace and justice. This is an insoluble problem not only to Mr Mikhaylov but also to all other Soviet diplomats and the Soviet Government for that matter. Ambassador Mikhaylov's defeat was just an illustration of this predicament.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' NOTES SOVIET THREAT TO POLAND

OW051656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Beijing, April 5 (XINHUA)--The official news agency of the German Democratic Republic, ADN, today confirmed Western news reports that the Soviet Union has committed fresh troops to the heavy concentration of Warsaw Pact armed forces in and around Poland.

A Reuter report quotes ADN as saying: "Covered by air defense forces, units of motorized infantry, tanks, missiles and artillery, as well as reconnaissance, engineer and intelligence units were moved to designated areas by rail transport or in military columns. Other forces were brought to the coast by landing craft."

ADN added that the commander-in-chief and commanders of the Warsaw Pact armed forces "organized the rapid movement of fresh forces with their staffs." These troops "from deep inside their home territory" "were briefed politically and militarily of the upcoming combat task."

Earlier, the American CBS news reported, "Large Soviet airplanes have been landing on April 4 at Lignica (the Soviet military district headquarters in southwest Poland) military airbase, presumably to deliver helicopters and other large equipment."

The American newspaper, BOSTON GLOBE, reported high-placed U.S. Government sources as saying yesterday that the Kremlin was rapidly readying 12 to 15 army divisions for movement near the Polish border.

Other reports said that the Soviet forces were stocking military materiel near the border with Poland, in the Soviet Baltic, Byelorussian and Carpathian military districts to be used in case of an intervention in Poland.

A report in the NEW YORK TIMES yesterday disclosed that "the Russians had now completed an autonomous communications network that bypasses the Polish military command. It would allow Soviet troops in Poland to maintain contact with those outside the country without the Polish knowing about it."

It added, "There were also reports that some airborne units in the western part of the Soviet Union had been placed on a high degree of alert. Soviet forces have also reportedly stockpiled fuel and equipment along likely routes into Poland."

This heightened threat of military intervention in Poland is coupled with escalated criticism of the Polish leadership in the Soviet Press. The government newspaper, IZVESTIA, featured yesterday a dispatch from its correspondent in Warsaw who wrote ominously that "early last September, there were hopes that Poland would be able to rectify its mistakes quickly and effectively overcome the difficulties. However, one must acknowledge now that these hopes are dashed."

In Washington, the state department spokesman, William Dyess, pointed out on April 3 that the tendentious and distorted Soviet press commentaries against Poland's Solidarity Union appeared to be aimed at providing justification for a possible Soviet action.

According to a White House spokesman yesterday, U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who is recovering in the hospital, was briefed by his top aides on the serious developments in connection with Poland and would be given further details later.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'XINHUA' CORRESPONDENT ON ZIMBABWE REFUGEES

OW101930 Beijing XINHUA in English 1911 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Text] Salisbury, April 10 (XINHUA correspondent)--Zimbabwe has helped more than one million refugees settle down within a year of its independence.

When Zimbabwe became independent last April, the new government had 1,200,000 refugees on hand, including 200,000-odd still abroad. With the help of the U.N. high commissioner for refugees and the neighboring countries, the government began to tackle the problem by letting those abroad return.

First of all, the government bought nearly 390,000 hectares of land that had been laid waste and distributed them among the refugees. It also provided them with seeds, fertilizer and farm tools totaling more than 7 million Zimbabwe dollars. It is expected that most of the new settlers will be able to reap enough for their own needs while DME will have surplus to sell.

Beside these efforts, schools were set up to accommodate the young people who had been out of school when they were abroad.

The Chindanduma school, for one, has enrolled more than 2,000 offsprings of Zimbabwe martyrs just returned from Mozambique to receive academic or technical training. The school has been cited and recommended by the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education and Culture as the best.

Situated more than a hundred and forty kilometers northeast of Salisbury, it was built on a farm once owned by white colonists. When reconstruction began here, the land was barren and the roads rain-washed and lack of repair. All the window- and door-frames of the school buildings had been torn out and the walls were crumbling. Yet, within half a year, new buildings have risen, surrounded by vegetables, corn and cotton, heralding a remunerative harvest. Corn alone, it is estimated, will be more than enough to feed all the staff and students.

The students here spend five hours each day in the classroom and one and a half hours in workshops, construction sites or the fields. Those of higher classes are being trained in carpentry, electric-welding, as well as in bricklaying and tiling.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' CORRESPONDENT COMMENTS ON LIBERIA SINCE COUP

0W111847 Beijing XINHUA in English 1834 GMT 11 Apr 81

("Roundup: Life Begins to Return to Normal in Liberia--by correspondent Yuan Rongsheng"--XINHUA headline)

(Text) Monrovia, April 11 (XINHUA)--Life begins to return to normal in Liberia after prolonged confusion and instability since the April 12 coup a year ago.

The first coup in the country's history led by Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe overthrew the rule of Americo-Liberians which had lasted 133 years since the founding of the country. For the first time, the country's power was handed over to native Liberians who welcomed the coup.

However, the new regime could not put the chaotic situation under control. The then President Tolbert was killed, 13 high-ranking officials of the former government were executed and many people detained as political prisoners. Thousands of Americo-Liberians fled the country. At the same time, soldiers harassed shops and civilian houses and extorted money. Both foreign and Liberian businessmen and residents were panic-stricken.

This gave rise to criticism by neighboring countries and the international community. Many African nations were cold toward the new regime and even rejected its representative to OAU meetings. The United States and West European countries, Liberia's traditional friends, took a wait-and-see attitude and suspended their aid to the country. Foreign businessmen were unwilling to make new investments and some of them closed their business and took away their capital. These actions hit Liberia's economy heavily and the new regime was confronted with a more serious financial crisis than the previous regime. Government revenue sharply declined while expenditure soared. Even government functionaries could hardly be paid on time.

In order to improve the situation, the new regime has corrected its extremist policies adopted in the early stage after the coup and announced a "fair trial" for the arrested former officials in accordance with legal proceedings instead of summary death sentences. In fact, most of the political prisoners have been released in the past few months without trial. Only a handful of persons considered as risks to national security are still detained.

A newly-established Supreme People's Court has started work to defend the citizen's rights. Head of State Doe has made several appeals to those who had fled the country to return to take part in the country's reconstruction, and promised them personal safety. These measures have, to a certain degree, reduced the people's fear.

The harassing and wrecking activities of soldiers have considerably decreased owing to the steps and measures taken by the new regime against such activities. Some who persisted in running amuck in defiance of government orders were executed or imprisoned. Discipline is rigorously enforced in the army.

The new regime recently embarked on a rectification campaign among the members of the People's Redemption Council. In a statement last November 7, Doe stressed that the council members should speak with one voice with regard to government policies, and that they were not allowed to appoint or remove officials at will, intrude on the cabinet's work and do what they think is right. His statement was broadly appreciated.

Meanwhile, incompetent ministers were replaced in a major cabinet reshuffle in the latter part of last February.

Some western countries have resumed their economic assistance to Liberia and commercial activities in the country are increasing, though grave economic difficulties still beset the country and promises made by the new regime have not yet been fulfilled. The masses are looking forward to efforts to be made in their interest by the new regime.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' FEATURE ON THAI COUP AFTERMATH

0W040804 Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 4 Apr 81

["Feature: Bangkok After Coup Frustration--by XINHUA correspondents Yang Mu, Ma Shengrong"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Bangkok, April 3 (XINHUA)--At 9:24 this morning, Radio Thailand under the control of the coup clique, suddenly ceased broadcasting. And a minute later it was on the air again, transmitting news and orders in the name of the joint command for national security. Lively military music preceded a solemn announcement that the government troop occupation of all strategic points in the capital Bangkok had frustrated the military coup led by General San Chitpatima.

The faces of the people of the city were wreathed in smiles as they listened to the exciting news. In the downtown streets, people greeted each other cheerfully and light-heartedly as they acclaimed the successful frustration of the attempted coup.

For the last 55 hours and 40 minutes, the residents of Bangkok had been passing through a very tense situation which threatened the unity and security of the nation.

People now came into the streets, national flags in hand, to greet the military cars and tanks laden with government troops. In front of the prime minister's office, a girl in white shirt and blue skirt offered cups of cool water to government troops coming to take up guard positions.

People flocked to the military installations which the coup makers had occupied. On the lawn before the supreme command, there was great excitement when two tanks and government troops arrived, red ribbons adorning their guns and rifles, clearly distinguishing them from the coup forces. Workers, students and other citizens quickly surrounded them and cheerfully exchanged greetings and congratulations.

A tall and slender soldier said: "We moved into Bangkok early this morning. At first, we were a little worried as to how much resistance there might be. However, no blood was shed and the result is satisfactory." Another trooper said, "When the situation gets quiet, we will soon return to our camps."

A student, rejoicing in the successful put-down of the coup, said, "We need peace and stability as our nation is facing foreign threats." He was not the only one with that idea. When we arrived at the busy Foreign Ministry, an official told us, "A coup in Thailand could only profit the Vietnamese aggressors."

All shops were open again by noon. A shop assistant exclaimed, "It is good to have the government troops come back. People are now expecting a peaceful and stable life."

All the opinions we heard, expressed by government officials, soldiers and citizens confirmed that the Thai people want stability and not turmoil; they want unity and not dissension; they want united resistance to the external enemy, and not aiming of guns at their own compatriots. They will unanimously ensure that anyone who goes against the people's wishes is doomed to failure.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VENEZUELA'S CALDERA HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE IN BEIJING

0W060734 Hong Kong AFP in English 0723 GMT 6 Apr 81

[Text] Beijing, April 6 (AFP)--Former Venezuelan President Rafael Caldera stressed here today that ideological differences exist between China and Venezuela although the two countries hold similar views on many international issues.

Mr Caldera made this statement during a press conference at the end of his political discussions with Chinese leaders.

Mr Caldera, who is head of Venezuela's ruling Socialist Christian Party, yesterday had two rounds of talks lasting six hours with Chinese Communist Party Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian.

Today, the former president met China's strongman, Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping.

Mr Caldera said he agreed with Mr Deng on the necessity to fight "all form of hegemonism or interventionism" in the world.

"China can intervene decisively to avoid a major confrontation between the big powers," he said.

Mr Caldera disclosed that China and Venezuela have "very different political systems" and that it is important "to acknowledge the existence of these structural differences."

The tone used by Mr Caldera to describe his talks with Chinese leaders was slightly different from that of Venezuelan Foreign Minister Jose Alberto Zambrano, who visited Beijing in February.

Mr Caldera has never mentioned the Soviet Union by name, confining himself to affirming that his country is hostile to all form of outside intervention, including hegemonism and imperialism.

He said however that he was convinced that there were "many possibilities to develop sincere collaboration" between China and Venezuela.

Questioned on the situation in El Salvador, Mr Caldera replied that "each country should find its own way to freedom," adding that he favored a democratic and pluralistic political system in El Salvador.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**ACROBATS PERFORMANCE--Beijing, 4 Apr (XINHUA)**--Rafael Caldera, leader of the Christian Socialist Party of Venezuela, his wife, Alicia Pietri de Caldera, and his delegation attended an acrobatic performance here this evening. The performance, which received warm applause from the Venezuelan guests, was sponsored by the international liaison department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Ministry of Culture. In the audience were Feng Xuan, deputy head of the international liaison department, Tang Mingzhao, adviser of the department, and Zhao Qiyang, vice minister of culture. At the end of the performance, Mr and Mrs Caldera joined the artists on stage and presented them with a basket of flowers. This morning, Mrs Caldera visited No 5 kindergarten in Beijing. [Text] [OW041630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 4 Apr 81]

**WEINBERGER'S REMARKS ON POLAND--London, 4 Apr (XINHUA)**--U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger warned here today that Soviet activity on the Polish border was consistent with a possible move to invade. He stressed that NATO allies had been working intensively on possible political and economic responses if the Russians did invade. Arriving here at the start of a European tour, he described the situation in Poland as "still pretty serious." "There is a lot of activity going on that is not consistent with a manoeuvre by the Russian troops that was supposed to end last weekend," he said. "It all started with a troop exercise, but there is activity consistent with a move to go into Poland and with an extension of the exercise. The airborne supplies being moved would seem to be more than those required for the units involved in the exercise--much more," he added. Speaking to reporters after his arrival at Heathrow Airport, Weinberger commented: "We hope they won't go in, and I'm sure the Poles hope they won't go in." Weinberger was scheduled to meet his British counterpart John Nott for consultations on Poland before going to West Germany. [Text] [OW050142 Beijing XINHUA in English 0132 GMT 5 Apr 81]

**VENEZUELAN PARTY'S VISIT--Beijing, 5 Apr (XINHUA)**--Rafael Caldera, leader of the Christian Socialist Party of Venezuela, Mrs Caldera and the Venezuelan Christian Socialist Party's delegation led by Mr Caldera visited today the Great Wall, the Summer Palace and Ding Ling Tomb, one of the tombs of the Ming Dynasty, in the company of Tang Mingzhao, advisor to the international liaison department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. [Text] [OW050829 Beijing XINHUA in English 0812 GMT 5 Apr 81]

**TABLE TENNIS DELEGATION--Beijing, 6 Apr (XINHUA)**--Chinese Vice-Premier Yang Jingren received here this afternoon the Chinese table tennis delegation which

is going to Yugoslavia to take part in the 36th World Table Tennis Championships. The vice-premier encouraged the Chinese players to display their best skills and score good results at the world championships to be held April 14-26 in Novi Sad. The delegation is led by Xu Yensheng, president of the Chinese Table Tennis Association (CTTA) and Zhang Junhan, CTTA secretary-general and Li Furong, CTTA vice-president and chief coach. The Chinese delegation has 19 players--Guo Yuehua, Shi Chihao, Cai Zhenhua, Xie Biske and Wang Huiyuan will compete in the men's team event; Chang Deying, Cao Yanhua, Qi Baoxiang and Tong Ling in the women's team event. Other men players are Li Zhenshi, Huang Liang, Lu Yachua and Chen Xinhua and women players, Huang Junqun, Gen Lijuan, Shen Jiangping, Bu Qijuan, Yan Guili and Liu Yang. There are six other coaches in the delegation--Liang Youneng, Zhuang Jiafu, Xu Shaofa, Chang Xieling, Zhou Lansun and Hu Yulan. The delegation leaves for Yugoslavia on April 8. [Text] [OW061252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1235 GMT 6 Apr 81]

WARNING AGAINST SOVIET ACTION--Canberra, 7 Apr (XINHUA)--Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser has denounced Moscow and its Warsaw Pact associates for exerting great pressure on Poland and adopting a most intimidatory military posture. In a statement issued in Parliament last night, Fraser said "as things are it is the possibility of a direct or disguised Soviet military intervention," which "causes the Poland crisis to threaten peace." Mentioning a commentary of TASS on March 29 which says that "only the Polish leadership, and not Washington, has the right to determine what measures are necessary to be taken to solve the internal problems in Poland." Fraser said that "what is being asked of the Soviet Government is no more than that it recognizes the validity of these sentences if the word 'Moscow' is substituted for 'Washington,' and the first sentence reads: 'Only the Polish leadership, and not Moscow, has the right to determine what measures are necessary to be taken to solve the internal problems in Poland'." [Text] [OW070842 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 7 Apr 81]

CSO: 4020

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTING PARTY LINE, POLICIES STRESSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 7 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Cao Xianyong [2580 2009 6798]: "Conscientiously Carrying Out the Party Line Is An Important Principle of Party Spirit"]

[Text] Conscientiously and resolutely carrying out the party line and policies is regulated by party discipline and is an important principle of party spirit for Communist Party members.

Speaking of unhealthy tendencies, people often pay attention to such things as entertaining guests, sending gifts, exploiting one's functions and power to serve private ends, and seizing every chance to gain personal advantages. True, these unhealthy tendencies must be resolutely opposed because they corrode the organism of the party and encroach upon the interests of the masses. But that kind of doubledealing attitude--complying in public but opposing in private the correct line and policies of the Party Central Committee--is an even unhealthier tendency. Such a wrong attitude may be found among individuals or in certain limited circles, but its harm to the cause of the party and, in particular, to the implementation of the line and policies determined by the Central Committee is extremely great. For this reason, we may not remain indifferent to it.

The vast majority of our comrades in the party can conscientiously study and resolutely carry out the party line and policies. At their posts they implement the line and policies formulated since the Third Plenum and have achieved some success in this respect. But there are a few comrades who, while trying to do a good job, do not look far and wide; instead, they lack an overall point of view, confine themselves to the interests of their own departments, and fail to see the part they play as "pawns" in the overall chess game. Because of this, when their local interests come into conflict with the overall interests, they, instead of subordinating their local interests to the overall interests, lay stress on their small world, substitute feelings for policies, go their own way, and leave the party's line and policies out of their accounting. A very important reason for this is that these comrades have been deeply influenced by "leftist" thinking and, not having conscientiously studied and assimilated the spirit of the Central Committee directives, they do not quite understand the party line and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session. There are also some comrades who are overcritical, find fault, and take a wait-and-see, skeptical attitude.

All such are of course problems of knowledge and, provided they conscientiously study and intensify their training in party spirit, their level of knowledge can be raised.

The problem is: In very rare instances, those who adopt doubledealing tactics and feign compliance secretly formulate their own line and policies, which run counter to the party's line and policies. With them, party leadership is resisted and the party's line and policies are either twisted or interfered with and resisted. Such are not general problems of knowledge but problems of party spirit, organization, and discipline. For example, some people ignore the party's and government's repeated stress on stabilization of prices, and use extremely improper means to drive up and increase prices in disguised forms. Some ignore financial discipline and keep granting bonuses under all sorts of pretexts. In particular, some people echo the wrong speeches--speeches that slander the four basic principles--instead of forcefully criticizing them. If these unhealthy tendencies are not rectified, economic readjustment will be hindered and stability and unity will be adversely affected.

The party's line and policies are the lifeblood of the party. In inner-party political life, conscientious implementation of the party's line and policies is a manifestation of the members' party spirit. That party members do not readily understand Central Committee directives is unavoidable. If they have objections, they may present them within the party or reserve their views, but they are not permitted to sing a different tune and are not allowed to comply with them in public but oppose them in private. The party line and policies should be carried out in light of the specific conditions of their localities and units; people may not, under the pretext of special circumstances, do what they want and persist in their old ways.

In particular, the unhealthy tendency of compliance in public and opposition in private against the party's line and policies can corrupt the party's cause even more. The disruptive activities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" severely undermined party style, damaged the prestige of the party, sapped the party's fighting strength, and promoted unhealthy tendencies in society. Today, each of us Communist Party members, as well as all those who love and support the party, should arise to combat these unhealthy tendencies. In particular, they should combat the unhealthy tendency of compliance with party line and policies in public and opposition to them in private.

The party's line and policies and the party's normal life and healthy party style depend upon each other for survival. Therefore, if we want to ensure victory for the cause of the party, we must not only have a correct line and policies but also keep strengthening the building of the party and of party style. The broad masses of Communist Party members in general, and leading cadres in particular, are required, first of all, to intensify training in party spirit and conscientiously carry out the party's line and policies.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### FOLLOWING LENIN'S EXAMPLE IN HANDLING DIFFERING OPINIONS URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Feb 81 p 3

[Article by Wu Liping [0702 7812 1627]: "Study Lenin's Exemplary Role in Dealing With Differing Opinions Within the Party"]

[Text] The correct handling of differing opinions within the party is a crucial problem in the implementation of the party's democratic centralism, the bringing about of collective leadership and the development of inner-party democracy. This problem is particularly important for the proletarian political party which is in power. In regard to this problem, we have walked down a tortuous path for the past 30 years. Successful experiences and lessons learned through failure have both caused us to further recognize that the development of inner-party democracy is the prerequisite for perfecting and strengthening socialist democracy. The development of inner-party democracy, the correct handling of differing opinions, and the pooling of everyone's wisdom and strength are all very important in assuring the correctness of the party leadership, the smooth carrying out of the party's work and the reduction of faults (especially in avoiding erroneous lines). The way this problem is handled will have a direct bearing on the future of the party and the nation.

Following the smashing of Lin Biao and the Jiang Qing anti-revolutionary clique--especially since the Party's Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee--we have had excellent conditions for reviewing and developing inner-party democracy and strengthening socialist democracy. The thorough implementation of the "Concerning Several Standards for Inner-Party Political Life" resolution, which was passed by the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, has vigorously propelled the development of inner-party democratic life. However, the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing group cannot be underestimated; the influence of feudalistic and autocratic thought which has existed in China for several thousand years can still be found everywhere and the corrupt practices which still exist in the systems of our party and nation cannot be overlooked. As a result, the suppression of democracy and the phenomenon of arbitrary actions are still common practice. In another group there are some who advocate anarchism and repudiate the needed centralism destroying the democratic life within and outside the party from the opposite side. Therefore, a serious and thorough implementation of the party's standards for political life is still the most important task facing us.

Our party's general task, at the present stage, is to lead all the people of our nation in making China a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized, strong socialist nation. In regard to this, we are still lacking ripe experience and we need to sum up the experiences and lessons of the last 30 years. We need to study and draw on the experiences of foreign countries. More important, we should listen extensively to the opinions of our country's experts in all fields as well as experienced workers and the broad masses. We must bring into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses both within and outside the party, pool the wisdom of the masses and carry out the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. With this in mind we will now once again study Lenin, who listened to all opinions with an open mind, and his exemplary style in correctly handling differing opinions within the party. In our efforts to develop democracy within and outside the party and to strengthen and improve the leadership of the party this will be of great significance.

Millions of revolutionaries and the broad masses have struggled together for a long time for the great cause of communism. Any revolutionary, and especially a party leader, in order to commit fewer errors and to avoid committing major principle errors, must excel in amassing the wisdom of everyone and in formulating correct strategy, tactics, direction, and methods. In addition, he must bring into play the people's enthusiasm, and pool the wisdom and efforts of the masses, so as to carry out the task correctly. In this problem the words and deeds of Lenin can be a model for the proletarian leaders of the ruling political party. Ever since Lenin began to participate in the work of revolution, and even more so in the work of revolutionary leadership, he has always carefully listened to the opinions of others. Correct opinions were accepted and developed; wrong opinions underwent criticism and discussion. As a result it was possible to develop a foundation for democracy, pool the wisdom of the masses, adhere to a correct policy and line and bring into play everyone's enthusiasm.

Lenin said: "democracy implies equality." (Selected Works of Lenin, Volume III, p 256). He was not just theoretically emphasizing equality, but more important, was penetrating the entire inner-party life with this type of spirit, forming standards for handling differing opinions. If it can be said that prior to the October Revolution Lenin requested everyone within the party to put into practice these standards then it can also be said that after the October Revolution, as leader of the ruling party, he further practiced what he preached by living up to these standards, implementing collective leadership in an exemplary way, correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism and thoroughly implementing democratic centralism.

There are basically two types of differing opinions: those which are correct and those which are wrong. In the case of correct opinions Lenin always listened attentively and with an open mind. Furthermore, if the mistake was his own he would admit so on his own initiative. For example, in the adoption of new economic policies it was after seriously listening to the opinions of the vast numbers of peasants--especially to the opinions of non-party peasants--that he made up his mind and formulated concrete policies. In "The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution" Lenin openly explained: We originally planned (perhaps it would be better to say that we presumed without ample basis) to regulate state production and distribution of products in accordance with communist principles in a

petty-peasant country by direct orders of the proletarian state. Reality proved clearly that we were mistaken. Several transition stages are necessary, state capitalism and socialism, in order to prepare for the transition to communism (and many years of hard work are necessary). We should not directly depend upon enthusiasm, but draw on the enthusiasm produced by the great revolution, and rely on personal interests, personal benefits and business principles to build sturdy bridges in this petty-peasant country from capitalism to socialism. Otherwise you will never be able to achieve communism, and you will never lead these millions of people to communism." (Selected Works of Lenin, Volume IV pp 571-572). Lenin not only had the courage to admit his mistakes, but he also was able to draw important scientific conclusions from them creating a valuable wealth for revolutionary peoples.

In "Notes of a Publicist (On Ascending a High Mountain; the Harm of Despondency, the Utility of Trade; Attitudes Towards the Mensheviks, etc)," Lenin said: "I must admit that I also committed an error at the Third Congress of the Communist International because I was overly cautious. ...generally speaking the Mensheviks were absolutely wrong, and actually, they were agents of the capitalist class in the worker's movement. The three Russian revolutions also proved this. It is an irrefutable fact. However, this irrefutable fact cannot remove the fact that in individual cases the Mensheviks opposition to the Bolsheviks was correct, for example, as in the question of the boycotting of the Stolypin Duma in 1907." (Ibid. pp 598-599). Lenin was not only able to consciously discover his own errors, but was also able to likewise find some correct things in the mistaken opinions of his opponents. What a thorough dialectical materialism this is!

Concerning the question of the handling of differing opinions within and outside the party, our party has summed up the theory and practice concerning the building of the party, and in "Concerning Several Standards for Inner-Party Political Life" it was clearly pointed out: "The use of authority by leading cadres to retaliate and to settle scores, to attack and make false charges against comrades, and the use of such methods as forcing someone to 'wear small shoes' or 'the making of files', as well as the leveling of such charges as 'anti-Party', 'anti-leadership', 'vicious attack' and 'mistaken line', etc are all a violation of the inner-party democratic system and a violation of revolutionary moral character. The preposterous charge of being anti-revolutionary levelled against comrades who dare to uphold the truth, the reckless use of dictatorial methods, and the carrying out of cruel persecutions are serious unlawful practices and should be severely punished under party discipline and national law." We must be firm in thoroughly carrying this out, enabling the expression of differing opinions within the party to be safeguarded by party discipline and national law.

The problem of handling mistaken differing opinions is one which is often encountered in inner-party democratic life. Lenin also established for us a model for dealing with this type of situation.

Lenin very consciously abided by the principle of majority rule. In the study and discussion of problems, differing opinions are a common thing. In dealing with wrong opinions Lenin strove to convince others through correct opinions and to overcome their errors. At times, when Lenin's correct opinion was negated by the opinions of those in the majority, he always submitted to the opinion of the

majority based on the principles of democratic centralism. The signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk is a clear example. At that time Russia's old army lacked the strength to resist the fully equipped German troops and the young Soviet regime still had not organized its own army. If the war continued the proletarian regime would face the danger of destruction. Therefore, Lenin felt there was no choice but to immediately sign the treaty which contained harsh conditions. However, even in resolving a problem of such great urgency Lenin still handled the problem in accordance with democratic principles. When the delegation attending the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference requested instructions from Lenin, he replied: "Stalin is not here and I still have not shown him anything.... I would like to discuss this with Stalin and then afterwards reply to your questions." After a short while Lenin informed the delegation: "Stalin has arrived now and after I discuss everything with him I will send you a joint reply." On the morning of February 18, 1918 the Bolshevik central party committee convened a conference. Lenin firmly requested that a telegram be sent immediately to the Germans to negotiate peace. However, this correct opinion met with the disapproval of Bukharin and others. They said: "The Germans wouldn't dare attack." As a result, Lenin's proposal was vetoed by a vote of six to five. Several hours later the Germans launched an all-out offensive. Even at this extremely critical moment Lenin still did not force the carrying out of his proposal, but looked upon himself as a member of the collective and abided by the principle of majority rule. It was not until the central committee conference, when the majority of the members endorsed him, that he represented the people's committee in notifying the German Government that they had agreed to sign the treaty. However, the German imperialists took note of Soviet weaknesses at that time and did not answer right away, but continued their offensive. It was not until February 21, that Lenin represented the people's committee in proclaiming: "The socialist fatherland is in imminent danger," arousing the utterly exhausted worker-peasant masses to fight against the Germans without a care for their own safety. The German troops however, had already seized a major amount of military supplies and in addition it was not until February 22, that even harsher treaty conditions were proposed. Practice proved that Lenin's prediction was completely correct and that the opposing opinions of Bukharin and others were wrong and dangerous and created serious disastrous effects. Lenin, however, did not punish a single person.

It was because Lenin recognized in his speech, writings and in practice that every party member had the democratic right to express differing opinions and because he did not permit any individual privileges, he therefore never attacked or made false charges against anyone because they opposed his opinions. Just the opposite; he actually brought together several people who had been opposed to him for a long time, but who were proved wrong by practice, and he worked with them side by side. He really put into practice the principle of "say all you know without reserve and blame not the speaker, but be warned by his words," and seriously implemented democratic centralism, thereby forming a political situation which was both democratic and central, and lively, giving free rein to the intelligence and wisdom of every comrade while overcoming one difficulty after another, and guaranteeing a triumphant development for the cause of socialism.

Lenin detested those who, for their own personal gain, purposely attacked others, and who even invented false circumstances in order to malign comrades.

Furthermore, Lenin seriously criticized sharply and treated severely those bureaucratic leaders who were slow, irresponsible, lacked deep understanding of the situation and who showed no concern for the fate of the masses. He once pointed out: don't be afraid to make matters known to the public and to submit matters to the courts for trial, "we must openly bring to trial this type of sluggish work style; only in this way will we be able to really cure the illness." Lenin's several theses strongly advocating inner-Party democracy and opposed to bureaucracy and unhealthy tendencies are worthy of repeated study by every revolutionary, especially leaders.

Lenin not only put into practice the line "blame not the speaker," but also enthusiastically helped those comrades who committed errors to recognize any correct their mistakes, so as to facilitate uniting in the struggle for the common cause. Ge-lai-sai-ev, Lenin's secretary, said: "Even when Lenin was reprimanding someone he still never once insulted or looked down on that person. Just the opposite. He always made that person have confidence and he had faith in the strength and ability of that person to correct his own faults. His cleverness, attention, concern, and the comradely assistance he gave in any difficult situation gave encouragement even to those workers who had little ability, were weak and weary, and who had the least self-confidence. He used his own liveliness and confidence to influence them. With his courage and decisiveness, his quickness in thought and action, his methods for handling matters, and most importantly, his foresight for knowing what needed to be done and how to do it he aroused them to forge ahead."

After the death of Marx Engels said: "I dare to bravely say: He may have had many enemies, but not necessarily any personal ones." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume III p 576). Lenin was also like this. Throughout his life he waged an uncompromising struggle with all kinds of mistaken thought. His opponents in debate criticized his "fondness for squabbling, nitpicking and making mountains out of molehills." However, Lenin also may not have had any personal enemies. We feel that no individual's thought is innate, but it is also not without foundation. In the final analysis it is but a reflection of the conditions of social material life. Just as correct thought cannot in the end be credited to any individual, mistaken thought also cannot in the end be the fault of any individual. The destruction of the social basis responsible for such thought and, in addition, making clear the source of its knowledge is the correct method for solving problems.

Of course, this is not to say that an individual who commits an offense is not responsible for it. If mistaken thought results in bad consequences proletarian revolutionary must earnestly analyze the social roots and the source of knowledge responsible for such mistaken thought in order to find a correct method for overcoming errors and to avoid the recurrence of this mistaken thought, enabling it to become a guide leading to correct thought. Only in this way can one be considered to have discharged his greatest duty.

Therefore, the reason the proletarian leader is able to correctly handle mistaken opposing opinions is not only because of his world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, but because he has a high level of the communist sense of responsibility to strive for the liberation of all peoples.

His inner-world can never be understood by those ugly souls who, for their own selfish interests, ride roughshod over and trample over the heads of comrades who have committed errors, who are out for power and money, and who are seeking fame and profit.

In dealing with the question of comrades who have committed errors Comrade Chou Enlai is also a model for study. He had a profound understanding of Lenin's spirit. In "The Important Question of Leadership Work Style" he said: "In dealing with the comrades who have problems in their thought and work style we should not adopt an attitude which rejects them, but we should adopt an attitude which has confidence in their firm grasp of their work." "We should make a basic appraisal of all comrades which will tell us basically whether or not they can be trusted." "If he can be trusted then it does not matter how many mistakes he has committed or what kind of defects there are in his style of thought. The party should have confidence in him and through this confidence criticize his mistakes and correct his style. These people are basically good and although they have made many serious mistakes we can only grasp them with our confidence, and not ignore them by turning a cold shoulder." Those who wish to be leaders must unite those comrades whom he does not like and whom he does not wish to be close to, and afterwards grasp them firmly, praising their good points while criticizing their bad points. Only after this will it be possible to change them and at the same time change their leadership." (Selected Works of Chou Enlai, Volume I, p 287). The words and actions of Comrade Chou Enlai are consistent and he earnestly practiced the Marxist-Leninist principles, which he advocated, throughout his life.

Let all of us once again study Lenin's teachings and his exemplary work style, in our party life implement the standards of inner-party political life, develop inner-party democracy, develop criticism and self-criticism, correctly put into practice collective leadership, realistically do a good job of party style, strengthen and improve party leadership, then proceed to strengthening and perfecting socialist democracy, fully bring into play the enthusiasm and creativity of the entire party membership and all the people of the nation, and struggle together to victoriously achieve the building of a highly democratic and highly civilized socialist country.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### EMULATION OF MARX'S SPIRIT, DEVOTION IN WORK HABITS URGED

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Feb 81 p 4

[Article by Wu Dekui (0702 1795 5525): "Emulate His Work Habit--Learn Marx's Revolutionary and Sacrificing Spirit"]

[Text] Our great leader Marx led a glorious life and a fighting life. There is no one who has read his biography or his memoirs who has not received a profound education from them. In addition to his great contributions to mankind, his revolutionary and sacrificing spirit serves as glorious example for us.

Marx's revolutionary and sacrificing spirit was fully expressed in his attitude toward revolutionary work. During his lifetime, Marx undertook a great deal of work. He not only took part in revolutionary work in the international communist movement but also created the theory of class revolution. He never turned away from international assignment work, bearing his responsibilities conscientiously. He engaged in theoretical research indefatigably, painstakingly and assiduously. For him decades were like a day as he worked for mankind night and day without knowing fatigue. His student Nyuxulafa said: "Work became a favorite hobby for Marx. He was so devoted to his work that he neglected to sleep and eat. He sometimes had to be called several times late into the evening to come downstairs to eat and would barely wait until he had finished his last bite before returning to his study." In the daytime, Marx was very busy, taking part in international conferences and meeting with representatives of various countries. In the evenings, Marx was intensely active, carrying out theoretical studies and preparing manuscripts. The famous international labor movement activist [Lipukenaixi] said with deep feeling: "Marx's persistence in his work always astonished me. He did not know what fatigue meant. Even when he was on the verge of physical collapse, he could not be outdone."

Marx's revolutionary and sacrificing spirit was even more striking when he dealt with difficulties. Throughout his life, Marx encountered many difficulties and crises. Being persecuted and driven out by reactionary governments and being slandered and besieged by capitalist scholars did not frighten him. Neither could the hardships of theoretical study nor the financial difficulties of his family bring him down. The specter of hunger often hung over Marx's house and creditors often surrounded Marx's house. In November of 1849, he was driven out

of his house because he did not pay his rent, and, in February of 1852, he had to pawn his overcoat because he did not have any money to buy food. Poverty took the lives of his three children and he "could not get little coffins for them until quite a long time after their deaths." Nevertheless, what were these difficulties to Marx? His reply was to scorn them and to fight them and to work selflessly. Even under the most difficult of conditions, he still persisted with a high fighting spirit in the practice of the workers movement, he continued to struggle against the capitalist class and he continued with his intense and major theoretical research.

Marx's revolutionary and sacrificing spirit gave off even more dazzling sparks during his struggle against illness. The extreme hardships that he had suffered and his selfless work severely damaged Marx's health and he was surrounded as if by evil spirits by many diseases such as hepatitis, pneumonia, pleurisy and carbuncles. Even though he was tormented by them, Marx did not give in to them. Marx put the enterprise of the proletarian revolution in the first place in his life and put all personal concerns aside. He linked his life closely to the revolution, continuing to work and to struggle even when he was sick. In February of 1866, Marx was again assailed by illness. He was in such pain that he was bathed in cold sweat and he could not even sit down. But he "continued a little lying down." Even when his limbs were numb and his senses were not clear, he still persisted in going to the library of the British Museum to engage in research on DAS KAPITAL. The first revision and final manuscript of DAS KAPITAL were carried out while was being repeatedly tormented by liver disease. When Marx felt that his illness was growing worse from day to day, he sacrificed everything to work more intensively. On 22 May 1865, in a letter to Engels he said, "I am now working like a horse because I have to make use of the time during which I can still work." Two years later, he again said, "I'm walking on the edge of the grave. For this reason, I must make use of every hour and every moment while I am still capable of working to go to the library and complete my work. For it, I have sacrificed my health, my happiness and my family." In this way, Marx, with a will of steel, contributed each minute and second of his great life to the cause of the proletarian revolution. In the seconds before his heart stopped beating he was still working on the second revision of DAS KAPITAL. He died sitting in his chair before the desk at which he always worked and studied. He selflessly and fearlessly contributed his own life, never ceasing to struggle until his life was spent.

A person must have some spirit. In the new long march of the advance of the four modernizations, how much we need a revolutionary and sacrificing spirit like that of Marx, a spirit that overcomes all enemies and that overcomes all difficulties! However, there are some of our comrades who take long cures for minor illnesses, who moan and groan without being ill and who have a mental attitude of seeking ease and comfort and of seeking enjoyment. By comparison with the working spirit of Marx, is not this work attitude of wanting three meals a day without doing any work or of working a day and skipping a day something of which to be ashamed? Each of us revolutionaries should take up and carry on Marx's revolutionary and sacrificing spirit, exerting ourselves to study and work, conscientiously carrying out our share of work, doing more than our share of work and doing our ordinary work with our minds at ease. We must work with all our might every minute and second, working this year and working next year in order to make more contributions to the people.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### TWELVE TASKS TO BE IMPLEMENTED THIS YEAR IN GUANGDONG OUTLINED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Feb 81 p 1

[Article: "Provincial People's Government Work Report Tells Twelve Tasks to be Implemented in Guangdong This Year"]

[Text] The government work report given at the Fifth Session of the Third People's Provincial Congress by the Guangdong Province People's Government said that the general demands for government work this year are: to coordinate Guangdong's actuality, continue to carry out the important directions of further adjustment in the economy and further order in politics and develop a generally good situation to advance Guangdong's modernization steadily.

Deputy Provincial Governor, Liu Tianfu (0491 3944 1133) said in this report which opened the Congress, that in the economy, with adjustment as the central focus, we should put the national economic plan in order and do a good job of all economic work. We should strive to: 1, after sharing responsibility for financial difficulties at the center, we should balance provincial income and expenditures; 2, strive to increase the production and supply of consumer goods, strictly control the supply of money in circulation and stabilize prices; 3, fully utilize the province's superior position to make production develop, for clear improvements in economic results, to bring the proportional relationship in the national economy further into line, make markets more active, and for continuing improvement in the people's standard of living. At the same time as carrying out economic adjustment, we should further strengthen socialist democracy and the socialist democratic legal system, strengthen the dictatorship of people's democracy, strive to raise the level of the people's science and culture and health, establish lofty revolutionary ideals and moral practices, develop a healthy varied cultural life, build a socialist spiritual civilization, and strengthen the development of a political situation of stability and unity.

The report outlined twelve tasks which we should implement this year: 1, agriculture should advance in adjustment. 2, adjust industrial structure and accelerate the development of light textile industry. 3, contract the basic construction front and raise the effectiveness of investment. 4, strive to increase financial income and be strict about the financial system and financial and economic regulations. 5, maintain stable prices and improve market supply. 6, expand external economic activity and accelerate construction of special economic zones. 7, further improve the people's standard of living, and do a good job of family planning. 8, strive

to strengthen education and science and technology and culture and hygiene and improve the level of the people's science and culture and health. 9, continue to improve reform of the economic system. 10, strengthen the socialist legal system. 11, improve government work at all levels and do a good job of political power construction. 12, strengthen ideological and political work and build a high level spiritual civilization.

The report emphasized that the mission facing the people of Guangdong Province is a glorious and huge one. To complete these tasks we certainly should strengthen unity of all the peoples of the province and strengthen the unity of army and government and army and people. We must make further efforts to consolidate and develop a united front of all socialist workers, patriots who protect socialism and patriots who protect the unity of the ancestral land, and further strengthen the great unity of democratic personages of all party factions and non-party factions, compatriots abroad and Hong Kong-Macao and Taiwan compatriots. The unity of all the peoples in the province, and the unity of the army and government and army and people has been, is now, and will always be the most reliable guarantee that our revolutionary enterprise will win the victory.

The report called on all the people of the province to rally even more closely around the Central Committee of the CCP, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council, and with one heart and one mind, in a down-to-earth fashion, fight hard to complete Guangdong's economic adjustment mission and socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### GUANGDONG PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS HOLDS PLENARY SESSION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Mar 81 p 1

[Article: "Third Session of Fifth Guangdong Provincial People's Congress Holds Plenary Session; Hears Work Report of Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, Work Report of Provincial Supreme People's Court, and Work Report of Provincial People's Procuratorate"]

[Text] Yesterday morning the Third Session of the Fifth Guangdong Provincial People's Congress was held in the Zhongshan Memorial Hall and it heard Zhong Ming [6945 2494], Deputy Director of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress deliver the work report of the Standing Committee of the Guangdong Province People's Congress, Tang Guangli [3282 0342 4409], Chief of the Provincial People's Court deliver the work report of the Guangdong Province Supreme Court and Kou Qingyan [1379 1987 1693], Chief of the Provincial People's Procuratorate deliver the work report of the Guangdong Province People's Procuratorate.

The meeting was attended by all committee members who had attended the PCC Guangdong Provincial Third Session of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Standing Committee, important responsible comrades from provincial departments, committees, operations, offices and bureaus, People's Congress committee chairmen from counties, cities and districts of Guangzhou, and concerned responsible persons from the garrison forces.

Executive chairmen for yesterday's plenary session were: Yin Linping [1438 2651 1627], Qu Mengjue [0575 1125 6030], Zhuang Tian [5445 3944], Zhong Ming, Lo Ming [5012 2494], Liang Guang [2733 1684], Huang Yaoxiang [7806 5069 4382], Xu Xiangong [1776 6343 1872], Huang Kaibing [7806 7030 8506], Rao Bu-x- [7437 0008 0000], Mai Yunyu [7796 5686 3842], and Zhang Guang [1728 1684]. Qu Mengjue chaired the meeting.

After Zhong Ming gave a detailed report on the important work of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress since the Second Plenary Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, he said that we should strive to strengthen organizational and ideological construction of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress itself, strengthen the close ties with the people's representatives, and do a better job of developing the role of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress to guarantee the smooth progress of Guangdong's economic adjustment work and to make a new contribution to developing a generally good situation of stability and unity in our province.

In his report, Tang Guangli pointed out that the practice of trial work in the past year shows that the work situation of our courts is good and has some achievements. But there are still many questions and some great discrepancies with the demands of operating in accordance with the law. Last year there were a great many cases in Guangdong of smuggling and profiteering, but the punishment according to the law was not vigorous but was mostly fines and confiscation. Concerned sections urgently need to get together and study and resolve this. Yang Guangli said that to meet the demands of the situation the mission of the Provincial People's Court this year should emphasize rectifying social order and comprehensively apply the "criminal law" and "criminal suit law"; continue to pay attention to checking and correcting unjust, trumped-up and mistaken cases; strengthen civil and economic decisions and investigative work, to further strengthen the construction of the courts to safeguard further economic adjustment and political stabilization in Guangdong and to make a contribution to the favorable development of special economic zones.

When reporting on the work of the Provincial Procuratorate since the Second Session of the Fifth Guangdong Provincial People's Congress, Kou Qingyan explained that the enforcement of the law and development of the profession by the People's Procuratorate is basically good and effective. But the Guangdong procuratorate work situation is still not suited to the demands of strengthening the construction of the socialist legal system and the needs of the Four Modernizations and Guangdong's implementation of special policies and flexible measures and effort is still required.

Kou Qingyan said in his report that the task for procuracy work this year is to emphasize the rectification of social order to enforce the "criminal law" and "criminal suit law" comprehensively, to develop the procuracy profession comprehensively, to further strengthen construction of procuracy organs, to raise Guangdong's procuracy work to a new level and guarantee the smooth progress of law and order politically and adjustment economically.

8226  
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## PARTY AND STATE

### CONTINUING 'FEBRUARY 7' REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION URGED

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Hu Chaosheng [5170 3390 3932]: "Carry On the Revolutionary Tradition of 'February 7'"]

[Text] It has been fifty-eight years since the Great Strike of February 7 broke out in 1923. During this fifty-eight year period, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have driven out imperialism, have overthrown feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, have achieved a thorough victory for the democratic revolution, have established state power under the dictatorship of the people, have proceeded with the establishment of the socialist revolution and socialism and have laid down a solid foundation for a powerful socialist nation. Today, as we proceed on our advance toward the Four Modernizations, it is of extremely great practical significance for us to look back on the history of the heroic struggle during those years of the working class under the leadership of the Party against imperialism and against feudalism and for us to carry on the revolutionary tradition of the "February 7" struggle.

The Great Strike of February 7 was brought about under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. After the Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1921, development of the workers movement was made the primary work of the Party. On one hand, propaganda and eduction on Marxism-Lenism was carried out among the workers in order to raise the class consciousness of the workers, while, on the other hand, the Party established labor unions in various regions, organizing and leading the workers struggle. Under the correct leadership of the Party, there was a very rapid upsurge in the first workers movement in the history of China. The Great Strike of February 7 was the highest peak of this upsurge. In the struggles of this strike, the young Chinese Communist Party courageously led the working class in a fierce struggle against their powerful enemies, struck a heavy blow against the reactionary rule of imperialism and the feudal warlords and greatly increased the political prestige of the Party among the people of the nation as a whole so that the Chinese people, who were living in a semifeudal and semicolonial society, saw hope and a future for themselves. The struggle of February 7 made it clear that it was the Chinese Communist Party that represented the greatest interests of the working class and of all of the people of China and that it would be only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that the Chinese

revolution could achieve victory. The singing by the masses of the words "Without the Communist Party there can be no new China" expressed the heartfelt love and esteem of the hundreds of millions of people for the Communist Party and also expressed a truth that had been demonstrated in practice. Similarly, today without the leadership of the Communist Party it would not be possible for us to establish our nation as a powerful socialist state. The perverse acts of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing crowd during the ten years of calamity in "kicking open the Party committees and making revolution" serves as a negative indication of this problem. At present, as the Party Central Committee is leading the people of the entire nation in eliminating the influences of leftist ideology and in carrying out a further readjustment of the national economy in order to create favorable conditions for the smooth realization of the goals of the Four Modernizations, there are some people who are deliberately stirring up trouble and who want to set up an "independent labor union" in an attempt to break away from or even oppose the leadership of the Party. These people do not understand the history of the recent revolution in China and go counter to the aspirations of the working class and of the masses. Without doubt, they do not enjoy popular support. The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people and the workers movement cannot for a moment depart from the leadership of the Communist Party. This is a crystallization of the experiences of taking part in the struggle of "February 7" and of the expenditure of blood and lives of martyrs in more than a score of years of revolutionary struggle. It is the conclusion of history. It is absolutely not permissible for any person to go against the tide of history and repudiate this conclusion. The struggle of February 7 was a manifestation of the great fearless revolutionary spirit of the working class in overcoming all enemies and in overcoming all difficulties. It is in particular those members of the Communist Party who have served as advanced fighters of the working class who have from beginning to end fought on the very front lines of the struggle. Selfless, without being afraid of difficulty and without being afraid of sacrifice, they have advanced bravely, leading and uniting the workers and masses in carrying out the struggle against the enemy through their own exemplary conduct. Such Communist Party members as Lin Xiangqian [2651 4382 6197] and Shi Yang [2457 3152] preferred to die rather than yield in the face of the butcher's knives of the enemy. Such heroic sacrifice of life fully manifests the revolutionary spirit of an advanced fighter of the working class in devoting himself to the cause of the Party and of the people with unlimited loyalty and courage. This revolutionary spirit has for several scores of years inspired thousands upon thousands of revolutionaries to advance wave on wave to realize the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and to struggle courageously in striving for the revolution and establishing victory after victory. The people consider this revolutionary spirit as a precious heritage to be handed down from generation to generation. This is only natural. However, this revolutionary spirit has been severely damaged by the prolonged sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At present, there are some people who before anything else always plan for themselves and there is a pernicious expansion of individualism. There are others who engage in unhealthy tendencies for their own selfish advantage, damaging the interests of the Party and of the people. There are some who openly propagate the decadent philosophy of life of "looking for money." There are even some who criticize the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and "devoting oneself to the benefit of others with no benefit for oneself."

This incorrect way of thinking is incompatible with the revolutionary spirit of the working class during the struggle of "February 7." It is also a serious ideological obstacle to our great mission of realizing the establishment of the Four Modernizations. We are still an economically backward nation with a low standard of living. For this reason, we will inevitably encounter many difficulties and problems in the course of establishing the Four Modernizations. In order for us to overcome difficulties, achieve victory and advance our revolutionary cause, we need only carry on this courageously advancing and fearless revolutionary spirit of the "February 7" struggle.

The "February 7" is a full manifestation of the high degree of organizational capacity and discipline of the working class. After the strike had begun, the enemy used such measures as spreading rumors, deception, bribery and threats in the attempt to break down the unity of the workers and destroy the strike struggle. However, the striking workers all consciously observed the stipulation of "not going back to work without orders from the federation of trade unions," firmly upholding strike discipline and obeying the unified command of the federation of trade unions so that all of the schemes of the reactionary warlords met with shameful defeat. The organizational capacity and discipline of the working class are the loci of the power of the working class. In the past, this revolutionary organization and discipline was a major condition in our overcoming the enemy and our achieving victory. At present, we similarly need this type of revolutionary organizational capacity and discipline in order to build a strong socialist state. When a great nation like ours carries out socialist construction, there must be democracy, there must be centralized leadership and there must be organization and discipline. During the ten years of upheaval, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing crowd instigated anarchy. We still have not completely eliminated their adverse influence. There are some people who hold that democracy is antagonistic to centralism and that freedom is antagonistic to discipline. They want democracy without centralism and freedom without discipline. There are some people who believe that upholding the four basic principles can hinder liberation of thinking and that a sound socialist system can hinder socialist democracy and that directing correct criticism at erroneous views is violating the double hundred policy. These people basically do not understand what socialist democracy is. As the result they cannot have a correct understanding of the importance of organizational capacity and discipline. In addition, they cannot correctly understand or use liberation of thought to carry on socialist democracy and the double hundred policy. This type of democracy that negates the four basic principles, that does not want the leadership of the Party and that does not want discipline is definitely not socialist democracy. It can lead only toward anarchy and freeing of the capitalist class. At this time, when we are facing a further readjustment of the economy and when we are engaged in the arduous political task of securing further stability we are even more in need of strengthening organization capacity and discipline. Without rigorous organization and discipline, we will not have a unified will and unified conduct. And without a unified will and unified conduct, we cannot do a good job of readjusting the national economy and of political stabilization. And, of course, we cannot realize socialist modernization.

In summary, when we commemorate the fifty-eighth anniversary of the "February 7" struggle, we look back on the glorious history of the "February 7" struggle and

study the revolutionary tradition of the "February 7" struggle. We must have even more faith in the leadership of the Party and consciously support the leadership of the Party. We should carry on the revolutionary qualities of the working class of being obedient to the organization and of strict observance of discipline and the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor sacrifice, and, under the leadership of the government and the Party, we should dedicate our hearts and our minds to the struggle of establishing our nation as a modernized strong socialist state with a high material culture and a high spiritual culture.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' ACCUSES DENG OF COLLABORATING WITH GANG OF FOUR

OW130500 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 11 Apr 81

[Text] During the 10 catastrophic years, many revolutionaries of the older generation in our party such as Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, He Long, Chen Yi, Tao Zhu and others as well as revolutionaries of the younger generation such as Zhang Zhixin and others upheld justice and refused to bow their heads and go down on their knees in front of the gang of four and their lackeys. They waged relentless struggles against the feudal fascist dictatorship exercised by the gang of four. Many people laid down their lives, but their spirit of sacrificing themselves for a just cause is heroic and moving. Now someone is trying to cover up what he did during the Cultural Revolution, and even palm himself off as a hero in the struggle against the gang of four. For example, Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his 10,000-word confession admitted that everything he did prior to the Cultural Revolution was wrong and tried to shift the main responsibility to Comrade Liu Shaoqi. He claimed that he was "loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line," and lavishly praised the "outstanding achievements" of Jiang Qing and the gang of four elements. He expressed his determination to expiate his crimes by good deeds and implored the gang's pardon. The gang of four finally believed Deng Xiaoping and freed him thinking that he was no longer a dangerous character. With the gang's confidante, Wang Hairong, holding his arm, he attended the banquet in honor of Prince Sihanouk on 12 April 1973--about 8 years ago. The gang of four once insinuated that they had won over Deng Xiaoping. During the 3 years after he took office, Deng Xiaoping worked hand in glove with the gang of four. It is obvious that had he not earnestly implemented the line, principles, policies and directives of the gang of four, he would never have been put in charge of the work in the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the army. When Deng Xiaoping was concurrently the chief of the general staff, he was very close to Zhang Chunqiao, the former director of the general political department, and Wang Hongwen who was in charge of the military commission. It was during that period that the gang vigorously liquidated the army cadres under the pretext that those cadres were connected with Lin Biao. During the liquidation campaign, Deng Xiaoping acted upon the orders of the gang of four and directed the spearhead of struggle at many army cadres.

Another fact we must point out here. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the work in the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the army the faithful lackeys of the gang of four planned to kill Peng Dehuai. At that time, Peng Dehuai's close comrade in arms Comrade Huang Kecheng had more than once asked Deng Xiaoping for help. However, Deng Xiaoping who only cared about his personal gain

or loss and his own safety refused to take any action to rescue Peng Dehuai. As a result, our army's beloved former chief of the general staff Peng Dehuai died in the hands of the gang of four. What Comrade Deng Xiaoping did in this regard certainly cannot be called a "valiant and firm struggle against the gang of four."

Now Vice Chairman Deng has accused comrades Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, Li Desheng and Chen Xilian of committing the grave mistake of making unprincipled compromises during the rule of the gang of four. At the same time, he once again has tried to hoodwink the whole party, the entire army and all the people in the country, and cover up what he did when he occupied that office.

Vice Chairman Deng issued orders to destroy the self-examination papers he himself wrote and the relevant documents from the files of the Party Central Committee, the committee's military commission, the State Council, the General Staff headquarters and the general political department. What is the difference between what he did and the gang's search for and destruction of materials that they deemed as "harmful materials?"

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI' RAPS INVOKING YANAN SPIRIT TO PURGE PRC CADRES

OW061005 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] At the persistent demand of Chen Yun, Huang Kecheng, Lu Dingyi and other leading comrades, the major cases of Peng Dehuai and Liu Shaoqi have been corrected and some erroneous antirightist movements during the great Cultural Revolution have been criticized. However, up to now a certain leader of the CCP Central Committee has tried every means to block solution of the Biao case, the Gao Gang-Yao Shushi antiparty clique case and other incidents including the Yanan rectification campaign.

Among the mistakes made in the past, the mistake of the Yanan rectification campaign has a long history as 39 years have elapsed since the campaign was launched. Although the Yanan rectification campaign caused great damage to our party and revolutionary cause, the party, the people and the armed forces have still not been told the truth about this campaign even now that Chairman Mao has died and the gang of four has fallen. Some people, ignoring historical facts, have asserted that the Yanan rectification campaign led by Chairman Mao was correct. Furthermore, that important personage of the Party Central Committee has even called for a rectification campaign within the party in the next 2 years by taking the Yanan rectification campaign as an example.

Can the Yanan rectification campaign indeed be taken as an example? This campaign was the first large-scale political movement in our party's history aimed at purging a large number of party, government and military cadres. [Words indistinct] at that time Kang Sheng and his running dogs, using the rectification campaign as a pretext, sought out revolutionary cadres who upheld principle and whom they disliked and framed up false charges against them. In this way Kang Sheng and company attacked and persecuted tens of thousands of revolutionaries.

The Yanan rectification campaign, directed by the bloody executioner Kang Sheng, first of all intimidated party, government and military cadres and created a tense atmosphere by asserting that there were many special agents and counter-revolutionaries within the party, government and military and that hidden enemies accounted for 90 percent of the personnel in some party and military organs. For this reason, Kang Sheng put forward the principle of striking extensively at all levels in order not to let any suspicious one escape.

Some people are now making similar threats by asserting that hidden enemies who oppose the party's correct line can be found throughout the country, that more

than half of the party members joined the party during the Cultural Revolution, that more than half of the cadres were persecuted during this period and that the majority of military cadres have serious problems because they have been under the poisonous influence of Lin Biao.

(?It is wrong) to arbitrarily struggle against tens of thousands of people without making proper investigations. Is such a policy objective and just? It is in fact an attempt to use the Yanan spirit to suppress those who do not act in submission and hold different views and to force people to obey the will of that important authority. This runs counter to the interests of the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

POSTERING LEI FENG SPIRIT WILL HELP SERVE MODERNIZATION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Mar 81 p 1

[Article by WEN HUI BAO commentator: "A Monument of Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] Comrade Lei Feng resembles a radiant pagoda atop the ideal highland of communism.

Comrade Lei Feng stood tall, like a signpost directing the traffic of life at the crossroads.

The life of Comrade Lei Feng was brief. But he burned it to light the dark side of countless souls and to inspire the ideals of many people! Today, as people throughout the country are entering the new historical period of building a modern socialist power with a high level of democracy and civilization, the spirit of Lei Feng again inspires countless people to appreciate the infinite value of finite life and to embark on a new long march toward the lofty goal of socialist spiritual civilization.

Comrade Lei Feng left us 18 years ago. However, who can deny that he still lives among us?

In 1963, Comrade Mao Zedong issued a great call "to learn from Comrade Lei Feng." Proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation responded by writing inscriptions concisely spelling out the deep meaning of the spirit of Lei Feng.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: The spirit of Lei Feng was "a common but great communist spirit." True, Comrade Lei Feng was a common character like a "small cog" in the socialist machine. In addition to being a good driver, he spent his spare time moving bricks at construction sites, cheerfully cleaning railway stations, braving wind and rain to escort women and children to safety, and acting as an instructor for students engaged in extracurricular activities. He often did needlework to repair his torn clothing. His willingness to wear shabby dress reflected a deliberate effort to live a life of a comrade of the lowest income. Was he a common character? Certainly he was a most unassuming person. But in this common character, one might find an active Red heart eager to serve the people wholeheartedly and dedicated to the lofty communist ideals of selflessly serving his country, collectives, and fellow-countrymen. This idea was not innate in him, nor

was it a spontaneous expression. It gradually took shape when he devoted his time to assiduously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with a "driving spirit." It was precisely in this manner that Comrade Lei Feng used his great revolutionary ideals to direct and guide his most practical albeit seemingly unimportant work, which he regarded as a step toward realizing those great revolutionary ideals. The spirit of Lei Feng was remarkable in that it was a combination of greatness and common character and revolutionary ideals and a realistic desire for achievements. Just as Lenin once said, our era is a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and rising communism. In our society, this struggle in the spiritual world does not take the form of turbulent storms but is conducted in the form of the gentle breeze and mild rain, or in the form of patient education. It will take months and years to change existing habits and customs. We must follow the example of Comrade Lei Feng in taking small but meaningful steps in the direction of constantly expanding the socialist and communist ideological base and of inspiring the people's spirit to engage in the program of the four modernizations. What a practical, meaningful and significant work it is!

As we strive to realize socialist modernization, we must build not only a high-level material civilization but a high-level socialist spiritual civilization as well. The so-called spiritual civilization refers not only to science and culture but also to ideology and morality. In the final analysis, it refers to the training of a new socialist generation. Comrade Lei Feng was an outstanding representative of the new socialist generation, and the epitome of the spirit of socialist era.

In the 1960's the building of our socialist spiritual civilization entered a golden era under the impact of the spirit of Lei Feng. Throughout our socialist motherland, many people, including those working in the field, in factory workshops, and in barracks, schools, offices, and neighborhoods had "picked up the gun left by Lei Feng." With "hundreds of thousands of Lei Feng-type persons growing in strength," a new generation was embarking on a march to bring vitality to society as a whole, lending strength to our socialist spiritual civilization.

Yet, during the 10 years of catastrophe, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques brought our national economy to the brink of bankruptcy and placed the building of our socialist spiritual civilization in danger of destruction. The true picture of Lei Feng was distorted, while his spirit was desecrated. The consequence of this pernicious influence has been extremely serious, prompting people at the beginning of our new long march to wonder seriously whether it is still necessary to learn from Lei Feng in the 1980's.

Is it still necessary to learn from Lei Feng in the 1980's? Our reply is that it is not only necessary but should be viewed as a practical action to implement the line and policies of the party adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and an important subject of discussion on the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

Comrade Zhou Enlai declared: "Comrade Lei Feng's class stand in drawing a clear line between what to love and what to hate, his revolutionary spirit of tallying his word with his deed, his communist style of dedication to the public interest,

and his proletarian fighting will, in defiance of danger to his life, are worthy of our emulation." To translate Comrade Zhou Enlai's call into reality, in coordination with the special condition of this new period, is undoubtedly a very important and truly significant mission to be performed.

At present, our efforts are to consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity and to ensure success in the further readjustment of the national economy. To this end, we must firmly and continuously implement the line, principles, policies and measures of the party adopted since the Third Plenum and faithfully uphold the four basic principles. In this connection, there is a problem of where we will stand. No matter what the circumstances, our stand must be consistent with that of the party and the broad masses of people. The stand taken by the party is the same as that taken by the people. Likewise, what is in the party's interests is also in the people's interests. On the basis of this firm position, we will be able to view everything from the standpoint of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the working people and achieve a correct understanding of the line, principles, and policies of the party and the tremendous significance of the four basic principles to the survival of socialist China. We must commit ourselves to the four basic principles and thoroughly implement the line, principles, and policies of the party adopted since the Third Plenum from the position of the party and people. To this end, we must carry forward Comrade Lei Feng's revolutionary spirit of tallying words with deeds. During the 10 years of catastrophe, lies and big but empty talk were the order of the day, sweeping the land like a disaster whose harmful effects still need to be eliminated, along with the doubledealing attitude and workstyle these days of complying in public but opposing in private. We must follow Lei Feng in tallying words with deeds; this means integrating theory with practice, being faithful to one's words, speaking one's mind in a sincere manner, and matching one's talk with action. In other words, no one should express support in public but disapproval in private with regard to the line, principles, and policies of the party adopted since the Third Plenum and the Party Central Committee's recent major policy decisions on further readjusting the economy and bringing about greater political stability.

Political firmness is a condition for determining whether or not we can transform our world outlook. The development of socialist modernization is a grandiose cause for Chinese Communist Party members and the people throughout the country who are dedicated to communism. This cause is being pursued within the framework of a socialist economy, under the system of the public ownership of the means of production. This "material relationship" has a decisive impact on our "ideological relationship" and the state of mind among all our revolutionaries--a relationship which must embody the noble spirit of collectivism and the communist style of dedication to the public interest. Our party has formulated its line, principles, and policies in a way that takes into account current actual conditions and has done so with the communist ideological system as its guide. For this reason, efforts must be made to foster a communist world outlook, with collectivism and the idea of "dedication to the public interest" as its nucleus. Only in this way can we truly learn to consciously implement the line, principles, and policies of the party. Recently, Comrade Hu Yaobang called on all party and army cadres to "foster a spirit of self-sacrifice in serving the people's greatest interests." With this spirit, we can study tirelessly and tenaciously in our continuing efforts to acquire the

necessary knowledge, experience, and professional skills. With this spirit, we can uphold principles and stand for truth at all times, without regard for our personal interest in success or failure. With this spirit, we can strictly discipline ourselves at all places and at all times. We must exert our utmost to make this spirit prevail. Only in this way can we do as Comrade Lei Feng did previously and demonstrate an indomitable proletarian fighting will, march forward in high spirits, overcome difficulties on the road ahead, and fulfill the difficult mission of the four modernizations.

In short, the class stand in drawing a clear line between what to love and what to hate, the revolutionary spirit of tallying words with deeds, the communist style of dedication to public interest, and the proletarian fighting will in defiance of danger to one's life constitute an indivisible idea, representing the quintessence of the proletarian world outlook or the spirit of Lei Feng. This is the key point in learning from Comrade Lei Feng. As long as we uphold and emulate the spirit of Lei Feng, we will be able to correctly handle the relationships between public and private interests, between misery and happiness, between life and death, between glory and disgrace, between beauty and ugliness, and between good and bad; to foster communist ideas, ideals, beliefs, morality, and discipline; to uphold the revolutionary stands and principles; to build comradely relations between the people; and to transform ourselves into decent, perfect characters with moral qualities. These are qualities expected of us as members of the socialist spiritual civilization.

The spirit of Lei Feng--a communist spirit embodying a common character and greatness--is a monument to socialist spiritual civilization, and it inspires us to march toward the ideals of socialism and communism. A new Lei-Feng-type generation is required to develop socialist modernization; such a generation is certain to emerge during the new long march.

9574  
CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### EDITORIAL 'IDEOLOGICAL TRASH' WITH LEI FENG SPIRIT

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Turn the appeal to Learn from Lei Feng [7191 6912] into the Conscious Action of the Masses"]

[Text] Today is the 18th anniversary of the appeal of Comrade Mao Zedong and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation to learn from Lei Feng. In the past 18 years, under communist warrior Lei Feng's spiritual influence and encouragement, group after group of socialist new persons emerged. In the early sixties in particular, "learning from Comrade Lei Feng and be a Lei Feng-type warrior" became the conscious act of the broad people, especially the younger generation. At that time, the Lei Feng spirit blossomed in all the land, and the deep impression of the new atmosphere in such aspects as people's spiritual features, the social trend and the relationship among men remain even today a beautiful memory in the minds of the broad masses. However, in the 10-year turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of 4" vigorously interfered in and disrupted the activities to learn from Lei Feng and distorted and slandered the Lei Feng spirit and image, thereby turning the right and wrong upside down and confusing honor and disgrace. In our great socialist land, the distressful lament that "Uncle Lei Feng is no longer with us" was heard. Today, the Lei Feng spirit shines again. The Party Central Committee appeals to the entire party and entire people to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization as well as a socialist material civilization. Besides education, science and culture, spiritual civilization also includes the communist ideology, ideals, faiths, ethics and discipline, revolutionary standpoints and principles, the comradely relationship among men, etc. Lei Feng was the model in building such a spiritual civilization. In his short life, he left us valuable spiritual assets. His noble revolutionary spirit of "benefiting only others, not oneself" and serving the people heart and soul will always inspire us to advance courageously in building socialism and realizing the communist ideal.

In the period of the new democratic revolution, our party and our army developed the spirit of selflessness, of subordination to the overall situation, of arduous struggle and of honesty in the performance of public duties, upheld the communist ideology and ethics, attracted the people of the entire country

and friendly figures abroad and seized the victory of the revolution. Today, when we pursue the socialist construction and strive for the four modernizations, likewise we cannot depart from such revolutionary spirit and superior traditions. In the early sixties, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the people of our country learned the Lei Feng spirit, developed the revolutionary spirit and traditions upheld by our party in the long war years, overcame severe economic difficulties and smoothly weathered the crisis. Today, we are faced with the arduous and gigantic tasks of the national economic readjustment. Though the conditions are different from the early sixties, learning and developing the Lei Feng spirit still possess an extremely important significance. Lin Biao and the "gang of 4's" 10-year rampage devastated not only our economic construction, but also the revolutionary spirit and superior traditions long cultivated and cherished by our party, leaving wounds in the hearts of some people, especially the younger generation. To heal such wounds and stimulate the revolutionary spirit, we must adhere to the correct political direction and develop Lei Feng's spirit of revolution plus exertion, of strict observance of discipline and self-sacrifice, of selflessness and placing others before oneself and of revolutionary optimism and serving the people heart and soul. We must spread his valuable spirit among all the people and all the youths and make it into an important symbol of the spiritual civilization of the People's Republic of China, to be admired by all the people in the world desiring revolution and progress and envied by the many spiritually empty and mentally depressed.

We must never lose our direction and lead people to the quagmire of extreme individualism, seeing only what is under their nose, worshipping gold, and abandoning justice for profit. That some people actually criticize such solemn revolutionary slogans as "benefiting others only, not oneself" is ridiculous and unpopular. Indeed, in real life, such decadent ideas of the exploiting class as "Heaven will destroy the one who does not look out for himself" and "money is omnipotent" still have their market. To thoroughly cleanse such ideological trash requires a long and arduous process. However, we must be clear and unequivocal in what we advocate and encourage and what we oppose and scorn. We firmly believe that the communist ideological system will finally wipe out and replace all the old exploiting class ideas. We will be able to build not only a high degree of socialist material civilization, but also a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization, and train hundreds of millions of Lei Feng-type socialist new persons.

To deploy extensively and intensively the activities to learn from Lei Feng and create a new trend, we must continue to criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of 'our's" attack and distortion of the Lei Feng spirit, refute the various erroneous theories negating and profaning the Lei Feng spirit and turn the learn-from-Lei Feng activities into the conscious actions of the broad people. Workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals must learn from Lei Feng, the Young Pioneers, Communist Youth Leaguers and Communist Party members must learn from Lei Feng, and the party cadres, including the leading cadres, must give their serious attention, earnestly follow Lei Feng's communist ideas and ethics, serve as models to the broad young people and masses, change, with one heart and one mind, the moral tone of society, and let our motherland emerge in the forefront of the world with the new of an advanced spiritual civilization.

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI RADIO ON MOURNING FOR VICTIMS OF WRONG POLICIES

OW070845 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] The Qingming Festival is the Chinese nation's traditional day to pay respects to the dead at their tombs. On that day, people bring their families to cemeteries to sweep tombs and pay respects to their dead parents, relatives and friends.

In recent years, especially since the "5 April" Tiananmen incident, the broad masses of the people have not only paid respects to their deceased dear ones on that day but have also cherished the memory of martyrs who sacrificed themselves for China's revolution and the cause of the party and the people, and mourned for thousands of revolutionaries of the older generation including Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, He Long, Chen Yi and Tao Zhu who were persecuted to death during the period of feudal fascist dictatorship and during the period when the gang of four acted like overlords.

This year, when we commemorate this old national festival, we should add some new content. In addition to paying respect to deceased dear ones and martyrs, we should also mourn those comrades who senselessly sacrificed their lives amid political struggles, those comrades who bitterly committed suicide opposing the cleaning up and revengeful activities against army cadres by the Party Central Committee and those comrades who were framed or wrongly charged and died uncleared of false charges.

We should mourn them not only because they were our old comrades-in-arm--we had struggled and worked together and shared weal and woe for decades and we admired their glorious deeds during the revolutionary war years--but also because we could draw a lesson from their fate. They were the victims of some individuals' political power struggle. It is an old saying that the overturned cart in front serves as a warning to the carts behind. Through looking at the miserable fate of those comrades, we can understand the consequence of blindly worshipping and implementing the instructions of, and having blind faith in, "great and wise" persons.

Recently, Vice Chairman Deng asked the army to take part in maintaining social security and suppressing strikes, demonstrations and parades if necessary, despite opposition by other comrades in the military commission and the Ministry of National Defense. The army has hardly had 2 years to train for national defense. Now it has again been asked to perform tasks which have nothing to do with army functions. This is extremely wrong.

Since the army took part in the "three support's and two military's" in accordance with Chairman Mao's order, the normal relations between the army and the people have never been restored. Acting on Vice Chairman Deng's instruction can only further deteriorate relations between the army and the people. In addition, when the political situation changes again, army units which take part in suppressing the people will find themselves (?in trouble).

Besides, at this year's Qingming Festival, we should also commemorate the tens of thousands of people who sacrificed their lives in the war against Vietnam. We should see that the war was not worthwhile. Those who died were the direct victims of subjectivism and adventurism. Their sacrifice was senseless.

We should sound the alarm for those people who like to take risks and consider war as a trifling matter.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

TRIBUTE TO MAO DUN--Beijing, 10 Apr (AFP)--Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng, who is said to be on his way out, today made his second public reappearance since last November, the last time he met a foreign leader. Chinese television today showed Mr Hua leading a delegation of top Chinese leaders paying their last respects to prominent writer Mao Dun, who died of lung, heart and kidney trouble at the age of 85 last March 27. Mr Hua, Mao Zedong's chosen successor, is one of the 75 members of the special committee set up for the funeral of Mao Dun. His last public reappearance came on February 4 when he met prominent Vietnamese defector Hoang Van Hoan, a former deputy speaker of the Vietnamese National Assembly who has sought refuge in China. Mr Hua, who is due to be replaced shortly as party chairman by party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, a protege of Chinese strongman Deng Xiaoping, has not met any foreign head of state or government since last November when he held talks with Romanian Premier Ilie Verdet. [Text] [0W101218 Hong Kong AFP in English 1215 GMT 10 Apr 81]

HUNAN NONPARTY CADRES--In the county-level direct elections throughout Hunan Province, 83 nonparty cadres have been elected to the leading bodies and are assuming the posts of vice chairmen of county and municipal people's congress standing committees or vice mayors. Some of these nonparty cadres are scientists and technicians who have made contributions to economic construction; some are well-known educators and physicians, while others are patriotic personages who have contributed to the motherland's liberation. Among them, 35 persons are holding professional technical titles and 9 are former Kuomintang generals or colonels. [0W031229 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 27 Mar 81]

CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI' ON PURGE OF PLA CADRES IN NEXT 2 YEARS

OW040131 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] At all stages in the history of our army's heroic struggle, our commanders and fighters have always maintained the spirit of "understanding, support and friendship." This spirit has enabled our army to follow the party's leadership, score victories in its struggle against enemies at home and abroad and serve the people and the revolutionary cause. However, since the implementation of the erroneous line, "understanding, support and friendship" have become taboos. He who utter these words is accused of advertising the philosophy of (?mixing colors) and the doctrine of the mean. Actually these accusations are used to frighten people so as to undermine our army's glorious traditions and its unity and to sow distrust among armymen to make them fight one another.

Reviewing our bitter historical lessons, we realize that whenever campaigns were launched to purge military cadres and suppress and persecute disfavored cadres, ignominious and dirty tricks were used to individually crack down on the so-called "resistors of the line." Meanwhile, commanders and fighters were forced to expose and struggle against these so-called "enemies." Since the fabrication of the Peng Dehuai false case in 1959, numerous campaigns have been launched in the army to criticize, struggle against, investigate, retire and demobilize armymen. These successive campaigns have ruined our army's traditional spirit of "understanding, support and friendship."

Now, it is said that it is all right to use these three words again. However, harboring vicious motives, a certain person still intends to divide armymen and undermine their unity. Armymen are still being forced to ceaseless struggle against so-called "enemies." To accomplish this goal, the Lin Biao false case fabricated by the gang of four has been used to suppress, slaughter and persecute disfavored army cadres.

Vice Chairman Deng has instructed that the so-called people related to the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique be put to trial openly during the general (?organization and training) of the whole army. By now, 16,000 army cadres at all levels have been named to stand trial. This is only the first batch thrown into the fiery pit. A certain person is ready to purge the army's leading bodies on a larger scale. Now Vice Chairman Deng has (?ordered) that in the next 2 years, army cadres who assumed their posts during the Cultural Revolution be investigated. He also intends to purge the commanders. Some 60 percent of the low-ranking

cadres and 80 percent of middle-ranking cadres will be purged. It is still not known what will happen to the high-ranking leading cadres.

In short, all intractable, disfavored and suspicious army cadres will be purged in the next 2 years in order to retaliate against all army cadres who intervened in the Cultural Revolution. If this plot should succeed, the commanders would suffer the most ruthless strike in our army's history. Under this dangerous situation, all commanders and fighters should inherit and develop the glorious tradition of "understanding, support and friendship." Our army's great strength lies in its unity.

CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BA YI CRITICIZES DENG ON MILITARY MODERNIZATION

OW141022 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin 1400 GMT 13 Apr 81

[Text] It is right to call on the commanders and fighters of the whole army to carry forward the tradition of arduous struggle and act as a mainstay in military modernization. However, all the efforts made by the broad masses of commanders and fighters in advancing towards modernization have been in vain. The seriously erroneous line arbitrarily set by an individual leader of the central authorities is the main reason for setbacks in modernization.

As everyone knows, Vice Chairman Deng ignored the opposition among many comrades of the Central Committee at that time and insisted that to modernize our army it would be necessary to cooperate with the Western countries and to import weapons and military technology from the West. Therefore, we rushed to purchase a large amount of military technology and equipment as well as some samples of military equipment from the West. This unrealistic purchase cost us several billion yuan in foreign exchange. However, practice has proved that these weapons are not only expensive but also too complicated to operate. These weapons will soon be discarded as useless in our country. Moreover, an enormous amount of spare parts has to be imported. A large amount of useless imported weapons is now still piled up in warehouses. Thus, an enormous amount of foreign exchange has been wasted.

In short, enormous military expenditures have been wasted because of an erroneous principle forcibly imposed on our army by an individual, and also because of his spending money freely. As a result, we now have no choice but to hastily cut military expenditures in every way possible. At present, while little money is spent on replacing self-made conventional weapons, commanders and fighters are called on to use old weapons and equipment that need to be replaced. No money is even spent on examining and repairing weapons and military equipment. According to the information of military regions, the number of commanders and fighters killed or wounded in accidents at army units has greatly increased. It may well be asked if this so-called "practice of economy" is reasonable and if this practice can be regarded as a policy that shows concern for army units?

In addition, Comrade Deng Xiaoping instructed the whole army to be diligent and practice economy and reduce military expenditures by cutting down mainly on meal expenses for commanders and fighters and material supplies for army units. Those units that have a sufficiency are asked to provide all or some of the nonstaple food supplies themselves. However, owing to price hikes in the past few years and also to other reasons, our army has received rather insufficient supplies. And

even under such circumstances, some 135 million yuan of treasury bonds were issued. This has inevitably provoked resentment among commanders and fighters, particularly those commanders and fighters with large families.

In short, the slogan issued by that important personage of the central authorities on overcoming difficulties and enduring poverty has made commanders and fighters indignant and caused serious accidents and confusion at some army units. Then they were accused of such things as being influenced by "leftist" thinking, violating discipline and opposing party leadership. However, these accusations are unfair. In fact, commanders and fighters cannot endure the sufferings and difficulties in life caused by the mistake committed by that important leader of the central authorities. That leader who has committed mistakes should be held responsible for all this: a bankruptcy of military modernization, hardships suffered by the armymen and serious accidents and confusion in the army units.

CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BRIEFS

**NANNING PUBLIC SECURITY RALLY**--On the morning of 30 March, the Nanning Municipal Public Security Bureau held a rally at the hall of the municipal government to cite progressives' meritorious deeds in rectifying law and order in society and protecting the four modernizations. Last year, the public security cadres and policemen throughout the region had persisted in and upheld the four basic principles. The rally read the decisions of the Autonomous Regional Public Security Department and the Nanning Municipal Public Security Bureau to cite the progressives. The rally cited 11 public security cadres and policemen, 9 advanced collectives, 348 public security cadres and policemen, 3 advanced party branches and 64 outstanding party members. Shi Qingsheng, vice chairman of the Regional People's Government and director of the Regional Public Security Department, and (Wei Quanshu), secretary of the Nanning Municipal CCP Committee, presented medals and letters of commendations to the progressives. (Liu Xiang), deputy secretary of the Nanning Municipal CCP Committee, made a speech. [HK021410 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 31 Mar 81]

CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### NEW PRC DOCUMENTARY TACKLES YOUTH PROBLEMS

OW091612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Beijing, April 9 (XINHUA)--A new color documentary film, "Don't Waste Your Youth," is attracting wide attention.

The 60-minute documentary records events in the daily life of 10 young men and women of Shanghai--a piano student, a dressmaker, an animal trainer, a mathematician, a lecturer in medicine, an electrician, a ballerina and her partner, a clock repairer, and a writer.

The young people screened include:

--Pianist Shao Dan, who gave her first concert at the age of 5 in 1962, was forced to stop playing piano during the Cultural Revolution but stubbornly continued her practice on the piano of her friend and sometimes even on an improvised "keyboard." She won top honors on 23 entrance exams but was not accepted because of her "family background." Today she studies at the Central Conservatory of Music.

--Machinist Chen Xido, labelled a "counterrevolutionary" in 1969, went through eight years of persecution and yet succeeded in designing a solar furnace with a high temperature of 1,300 degrees celsius.

--Dressmaker Gao Yanmin, who works in the Guangzhong Clothing Shop, is teaching herself to become a translator of English literature on mechanical engineering and is accepted as the youngest member of the city's scientific and technical information society.

--Animal tamer Yu Huachang of Xijiao Park, who trained an orangutan to clap its hands, to bow, to do somersaults and to pull a thread through the eye of a needle, says he wants to make people feel happy.

--Young technician Li Taihang defies conventions to invent a computer to analyze and store information on traditional Chinese medicine.

--Writer Zhu Lianjun, who is partially paralyzed, studies writing with the help of her young comrades.

These scenes are introduced with the lines: "This is a generation that has been wounded, that has awakened, and that has been thinking seriously."

The documentary also includes shots of young gamblers, wandering smokers and pursuers of Western life styles, accompanied by the lines: "How my heart aches for you, my young friends. Wake up!"

A Shanghai middle-school teacher said the film "helps people to understand our young generation better. It is a lovely and promising generation."

Chen Guangzhong, the script writer and film director, who returned from Hong Kong, has worked on documentaries for years. For the last two years, the theme of his work has been youth, and he has become a favorite with the young audience. "The tree of life is evergreen," he said. "And so is the force of the documentary film. I love the young people and I see their efforts to answer the call of the country."

CSO: 4020

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### THEORETICAL GUIDANCE FOR LITERATURE, ARTS STRESSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Dec 80 p 4

[Article by Cheng Daixi [4453 0108 3556]: "Scaling New Heights in Science and Literature Cannot Be Divorced From Theoretical Thinking"]

[Text] We Must Attach Importance to the Study and Research of the Basic Principles of the Theory on Literature and Arts

The Marxist theory on literature and arts has been a guiding light for our revolutionary literature and arts. In the 31 years since the founding of our People's Republic, especially in the past 4 years, we have made giant strides in literature and arts. We have no reason to feel ashamed of such achievement. On the other hand, we must also realize that dogmatism and the leftist line have nearly strangled our literature and arts. Engels said in his "Natural Dialectics" that "if a nation wishes to stay on the pinnacle of scientific achievement, it cannot, for a single moment, let up on its theoretical thinking." For a long time, the wisdom of these words has not been fully appreciated in our country. It is true that we cannot ascribe the lackluster state of our literary, art and scientific development to any single factor, but the lack of theoretical thinking seems to be the main culprit. To cite a common example. Literary and art creations are social activities, yet they are not governed by the law of the rise, evolution and development of other social activities. They follow the law of arts. In our studies of the theory of literature and arts, we have for a long time ignored this law of arts. As a result, we have little understanding as to how it works. As we do not understand it, we have little respect for it and cannot put it to work to our advantage. The upshot is that we have been groping in the dark in whatever we do to promote literature and arts. We have either given misdirection or followed orders mechanically. It is true that literature and arts are closely related to politics. Nevertheless, literature and arts are one thing. Politics is quite another. Politics may be the motivation and soul of literature and arts, but it is not literature and arts per se. If we are to mechanically equate politics with literature and arts or to subjugate literature and arts to politics, we will achieve only one thing: the strangulation of literature and arts. From the mid-1950's to the time of the downfall of the "gang of four," we spent nearly 20 years criticizing the revisionism in literature and arts, especially where literature deals with human nature and humanitarianism. Basically we used one yardstick and made sweeping criticism, sweeping repudiation, and sweeping rejection, not knowing that even when it came to the out-and-out bourgeois concept of human nature and humanitarianism, we should still carefully analyze it in the light of historical conditions, using the principle

of "one dividing into two." Our generalization led us to mistake beastly nature for human nature, mysticism for humanitarianism. We are not crying wolf here. We are merely sharing our bitter lesson learned during the decade of catastrophe. The theory of literature and arts cannot escape the study of human nature and humanitarianism. This is because literature and arts mirror social life, or, in other words, how man lives. Marx once pointed out that man is "the sum of all social relationships." In a class society, class relationships represent some of the more important relationships among men, though they do not cover all the social relationships. Apart from class relationships, there are ethical and moral ties. The affection between parents and their children, the love between man and woman are also social relationships. Furthermore, if we accept the fact that the bourgeoisie displays a bourgeois nature and the proletariat displays a proletarian nature, we are only addressing one aspect of the issue. The real issue here is that there is no such thing as unvarying human nature in this world. This issue requires theoretical verification.

Other issues such as realism, truthfulness, stereotyping, trendiness, method of creation, style, different schools of writing, the relationship between the world outlook of writers and artists and their works, evaluation and development of literary heritage, tradition, reform, etc also need to be defined more scientifically in the theory of literature and arts. This is why it is necessary for us to attach great importance to the study of basic principles of the theory about literature and arts. Failing that, we will never make a science out of our literature and arts.

#### We Must Conscientiously Study the Marxist Theory on Literature and Arts--The "Arrow"

We have a common Chinese saying: "Let fly our arrow when the right target comes up." In literature and arts, the "arrow" would be the Marxist theory on literature and arts. The "target" would be the Chinese revolutionary movement in literature and arts. If we want to hit the target with our arrow, we must apply the Marxist theory on literature and arts to the way we promote a revolutionary movement in literature and arts. We must relate the former to the latter, or, in other words, relate theory to practical action. This calls for our conscientious study of the Marxist theory on literature and arts--our "arrow." If we lose this arrow, our revolutionary movement in literature and arts will lose its guidance from scientific theory.

Since the founding of our republic, all the Marxist classics have been translated into Chinese and published either as complete collections or as anthologies. In recent years, various booklets have also come off the press as supplements to complete collections. Marxist classics dealing with the theory on literature and arts have also been imported, translated, and published in anthology forms in various lengths and sizes. We daresay that we have better access to the Marxist theory on literature and arts, either for study or for research purposes, today than ever before. However, we must admit that we still do not know enough about the Marxist theory on literature and arts. Our theory on literature and arts is still way behind not only in providing a scientific interpretation of the colorful events in our revolutionary movement in literature and arts and making these events theoretically explainable, but also in addressing many of the issues concerning our revolution in literature and arts that demand theoretical and scientific

clarification. When Comrade Mao Zedong discussed our efforts in the theoretical field 38 years ago, he pointed out: "Generally speaking, our theoretical efforts are still lagging behind our revolutionary action, not to mention that they should be ahead." After several decades, these words still ring true today. One of the reasons for this state of affairs is our lack of understanding of the Marxist theory on literature and arts.

The Marxist theory on literature and arts is a branch of science. It is a scientific system complete in itself. I admire Gyorgy Lukacs, the famous literary critic, for his declaration that the Marxist theory on literature and arts forms a scientific system by itself, that it cannot be found in any single collection of the works of Marx and Engels on literature and arts, but that it permeates all the works of Marxist classical writers. Obviously the anthologies are compiled according to the editors' choice, guided by their understanding of the classical writers' ideas on literature and arts and according to the needs of the intended readership. They cannot present the Marxist theory on literature and arts in its entirety. While they can serve as a guide for us, they cannot make us "experts." If our literary and art theorists wish to have a complete understanding and a full grasp of the Marxist theory on literature and arts, they must sit down and conscientiously study all the works by Marxist classical writers in a systematic manner. We are not asking them to do the impossible. It is the least they must do. The reason is simple. Unless we have all the available first-hand material in front of us in a systematic order, we cannot embark on any research work. When we say systematic study, we mean studying Marx' and Engels' works on literature and arts side by side with their works on philosophy and political economics, and studying Lenin's works side by side with Comrade Mao Zedong's works on literature and arts. For a long time in the past, we failed to play up the importance of a systematic study and research of the Marxist theory on literature and arts. Beginning in the 1960's, especially during the decade of catastrophe, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted a destructive style of study. They would encourage study of quotations lifted out of the context as if the quotations already told the whole story. They tore up the scientific, complete Marxist theory on literature and arts into small pieces. As a result, mechanical study and metaphysics took hold for a while. Let us give an example. Marx and Engels stressed repeatedly that it is man's social being that determines his consciousness, not the other way around. They also said that man's consciousness would change as his living conditions, social relationships and social being change. Expanding on this Marx' and Engels' basic principle of historical materialism, Lenin went on to develop his famous theory of reflection. Literature and arts is one expression of man's consciousness. It may reflect man's social being in the true light. It may also reflect man's social being in a distorted light. This is because the reflection is channeled and dispersed through the minds of the writers and artists. For example, when Marx discussed Greek mythology, he noted that it was an unconscious artist expression in which the Greeks presented a fantasized natural world and human society. No doubt the works of literature and art bear the imprint of the authors' world outlook. The world outlook, representing the sum of the artist's state of mind and his thinking process, cannot help exerting a strong influence over his work. In his early work "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," Marx dwelt upon the close association between literature (a branch of science devoted to the study of man) and psychology. Obviously, art is but a presentation of the objective world (or life) as perceived by the artist's mind in an individualistic

style. There is no denying that an artist's state of mind is affected by the conditions of his society. Nevertheless, it still retains a certain quality of its own. The artistic creation boils down to a dialectical union between the outside world as it exists in all its objectiveness and the inner world with all its subjective-ness that resides within the artist. In "Concerning Feuerbach," Marx said: "The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism (that of Feuerbach included) is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or of contemplation, but not as sensuous human activity, practice, not subjectively. Hence, in contradistinction to materialism, the active side was developed abstractly by idealism--which, of course, does not know real, sensuous activity as such."

The situation described by Marx more than 100 years ago still exists today. For a long time, we neglected to study the subjective aspect of the creative process. As a result, our theory on literature and arts inevitably smells strongly of mechanical materialism, which provides a haven for dogmatism and gives rise to the leftist trend of thought in literature and arts. The various schools of artistic literature and arts in the West, including the school that emphasizes ecological expression, on the other hand, have their roots in idealism. They are one-sidedly and abstractly developing the "active side" of the creative process subjectively.

The above example tells us that both for those who are engaged in the research of the Marxist theory on literature and arts and for everyone else who is involved with literature and arts in one way or another, they must, for now and for a long time hereafter, vigorously oppose mechanical materialism (dogmatism) and idealism of various descriptions.

All this makes it clear that if we wish to study the Marxist theory of literature and arts--the "arrow," we must first of all cultivate a correct attitude toward the Marxist classics. This is very important. We often say that we must get on the right track and get down to basics. We cannot get on the right track until we find the roots of the Marxist philosophy and the Marxist theory on literature and arts. For this reason, we must warmly encourage and actively support all writings trying to correctly interpret the ideas of the classical writers on literature and arts. We must never summarily dismiss such writings as being pedantic. In the past, we only had a partial understanding and a precarious grasp of the basic principles of the Marxist theory on literature and arts, and we got into big trouble because of that. Now we must correct this situation completely. There is no quick remedy. All we need to do is to conscientiously study and research the basic principles of the Marxist theory on literature and arts.

#### A Union of Theory With Practical Action

A complete understanding of the basic principles of the Marxist theory on literature and arts is not an objective in itself. In the final analysis, it is a matter of how best we can apply those principles to our effort of revolutionizing our literature and arts. Our theoretical level is still rather low at present. Eventually we may have to verify the correctness of our theory in the light of practical experiences to be gained in our revolution in literature and arts. As a matter of fact, a theory must stand the test of practical action to prove its validity. For this reason, we must make constant effort to correlate theory with

practice. The correlation of theory with practice has far-reaching implications in general, and most certainly for every aspect of our revolution in literature and arts. We believe we should pay close attention to the following areas:

(1) Marx divided man's social production into two major categories--material and spiritual production, meant to satisfy the growing needs in man's material and spiritual life. Though we have undertaken the socialist economic construction for several decades, we have failed to develop a clear understanding of the fundamental issue--what is production for? The lack of understanding of this theoretical issue--the purpose of production--on the part of our leadership organs in charge of economic affairs for such a long time seems to be largely responsible for the economic backwardness of our nation. Now our Central Committee is calling for a revitalization of our economy. This demands a display of a sense of full commitment by the whole nation, from the leaders of the central government, the local governments and the enterprises, down to the individual producers. The commitment of the individual producers is of the greatest importance. If they fail to show a strong motivation for their jobs, the actual work of producing things, there is no hope for an economic revitalization or the satisfaction of the growing needs of the people for material things. What is true for material production is also true for spiritual production. The revitalization of literature and arts again depends on the commitment of our writers and artists to do a good job. Without it, the spiritual needs of the people will not be met. The kind of literature and arts we need now is the kind that is good for the mental health of the people, informative, morale-boosting and thought-provoking. In the past 4 years since the downfall of the "gang of four," our revolutionary movement in literature and arts had gained new momentum. Our literature and arts have come into full bloom. All this is made possible by the commitment of our literary and art workers. This development provides a valuable lesson which we must take to heart. However, the pernicious influence of dogmatism and, to a greater extent, the leftist ideas, is still repressing and dampening the enthusiasm of our literary and art workers. It is the responsibility of the leadership organs in charge of literature and arts to provide warm support to the literary and art workers and to arouse enthusiasm among them.

(2) Our economic life is undergoing earth-shaking changes, changes that we never dreamed possible. The changes in the economic base demands matching changes in the superstructure, which plays a supportive role to the economic base. As long as there is no conflict with the all-out implementation of the political and ideological lines laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the leadership organs in charge of literary and art development must make sweeping organizational, supervisory and methodological changes. Now a number of new issues are coming into evidence in our national life. To resolve these issues, we cannot look to the past for guidance. There are even a number of people who are mentally unprepared for changes. But changes cannot be held back any longer. It is now only a matter of how to make those changes. We must give it a lot of thought. If the changes in the economic structure are meant to respond better to the dictate of the law of economics, the changes in our literary and art quarters will be made for better conformity to the law of artistic creations. Regrettably, we still have not come to grips with the law of art after 3 years of constant exploration. The time has come to seriously study the matter and find the answer.

The two "indisputable facts" and the two "broad horizons" stressed in Lenin's article "The Party's Organization and Its Literature" may provide us with a theoretical basis in our continued exploration for the law of arts. Soon after the October Revolution, Lenin reaffirmed his thought when he held a discussion with [Klara] Zetkin. He said: "The revolution has turned the Soviet state into a protector and patron of the artists. Every artist and every aspiring artist has the right to create in his own way without interference." For a long time in the past, we failed to reach a true understanding of the major issue, which has both theoretical and practical implications, that the economic base and the superstructure must be compatible, or at least basically compatible. For example, the famous "Great Leap Forward" that began in 1958 was not a necessary economic step demanded by the productive forces, but rather a step contrived by man. Similarly, our theorist front called for an early introduction of "communism." Reacting to this call, the literary and art workers went all out to promote, as well as encourage, active participation in a mass literary and art movement in which "everyone writes poetry, paints, sings and dances." Predictably, the superstructure failed to play a positive role of making the economic base more secure. Rather, it played a negative role of damaging the economic base.

So beginning in the early 1960's, the Party Central Committee laid down an "eight-character guideline" for economic consolidation and began to promote production in earnest. The result turned out to be far better than expected. Unfortunately, our entire theorist front, including the ranks of our literary and art workers, failed to realize the significance of this lesson. Before they knew what modern revisionism was really like, they hastened to mount an anti-revisionist campaign. Then the "Cultural Revolution" rolled in with a big bang and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" escalated the tendency toward the left into an out-and-out leftist line, causing the nation untold pains. After smashing the "gang of four," our Party Central Committee took a firm grip on the economic base, namely the revival of production, with one hand and also took a firm grip on the superstructure, namely the criticism of the disastrous ultraleftist line and the implementation of various party policies, with the other hand. What was done in the past 4 years can be described simple as a refocusing of attention to the Marxist theoretical issue of how to make the superstructure and the economic base compatible. In these years, the severe criticism of the ultraleftist line by the literary and art theorists and the exposure of the crimes of the "gang of four" by writers and artists in their works played a positive role and indirectly served to consolidate the socialist economic base. Now a new issue has come up. The productive forces are demanding a further liberation, and the structure that once directed and supervised production is no longer compatible with the new situation. What should we do? Should we go along with the demand of the productive forces? Should we ignore it? Bitter lessons of the past tell us that we must go along with it. The review of history here is meant to prove one point: the reform of the structure of literature and arts (it may inevitably affect certain policies concerning literature and arts) must be tied in with the reform of the superstructure as a whole, and such a reform needs to be compatible with and capable of consolidating the socialist economic base.

(3) The literary and art movement at present raises a large number of theoretical questions that need to be answered. One of them directly concerns the number of theorists. At present, there are far more literary and art critics than theoretical

researchers. There are very few people devoting their time exclusively to the research of the Marxist theory on literature and arts, numbering perhaps 400 or 500 nationwide. Of these few people, most of them are on the payroll of our institutions of higher education and do not belong to the literary and art circles. In the past 3 years, the comrades teaching the Marxist theory about literature and arts at the college level accomplished a great deal. They formed academic societies, set up exchange programs, and printed a lot of material useful in the exchange of experiences and in teaching. Incomplete statistics show that since the downfall of the "gang of four," some 190 articles discussing the Marxist theory on literature and arts were published in various newspapers, magazines and academic journals, most of them written by faculty members of our institutions of higher education.

There are many strange things in our national life. For example, one cannot work on an empty stomach. Yet for a decade or two we paid scant attention to the production of material things. By the same token, we used the Marxist theory as a guide for our literary and art movement, yet we paid scant attention to the research of this guide itself. Now the theoretical issues concerning literature and arts are piling up, unresolved. This state of affairs is a direct result of our neglect in building up a theorist force. We wish to suggest to the comrades in charge of literary and art work that they put the program of training and building of a Marxist theorist force on literature and arts on their work agenda. They should not just pay lip service to it. They should do something positive about it. Only then can we hope to have a better grasp of the Marxist theory on literature and arts.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC PUBLISHING HOUSE MARKS 30TH ANNIVERSARY

OW091422 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Beijing, April 9 (XINHUA)--China's leading literature publisher--the People's Literature Publishing House in Beijing--celebrated its 30th anniversary today.

Four generations of writers, literature translators, researchers on Chinese classics and publishers in Beijing were represented at today's gathering. The oldest was 87-year-old Ye Shengtao, an old-timer from the May Fourth Movement of 1919 that marked the beginning of modern Chinese literature.

Wei Junyi, editor-in-chief of the People's Literature Publishing House, reviewed its work over the past three decades. She reported that over 6,000 books including Chinese classics and translations of foreign literature were published during this period. 186 new books were issued in 1980, as against 151 in the year of 1965, the peak year before the "Cultural Revolution." The amount of paper used last year was three times that of 1965. This indicated the "popularity of books among the masses," she noted.

She said that her publishing house follows the principle of serving socialism and the people and that of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." The most important project in the 1981 plan is the enlarged new edition of "Complete Works of Lu Xun" to mark the 100th anniversary of his birth. Work will continue with the ten series of Chinese and foreign classics, Chinese and foreign literary theories, contemporary Chinese and foreign literature and data related to Chinese novel writing.

Zhou Yang, deputy director of the propaganda department of the Communist Party Central Committee, was present to extend his congratulations. "Our people are grateful to the publishers for your diligence and hard work," he said.

He urged all writers, editors and publishers to make concerted efforts to bring about a new flourishing in China's socialist literature and art.

Important publications in the past three decades on display today include complete works and collected works of Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Ba Jin and other veteran writers representative of modern Chinese literature since the early 20's, the best sellers since 1949, literary classics, research and translation works.

A letter from Bing Xin, and a poem from Zhang Kejia were read at the gathering. Both were too weak to attend the occasion. The poem saluted the People's Literature Publishing House as "coming into its prime years" and serving as "a companion of the masses and a friend of the writers."

Mao Dun, the late chairman of Chinese Writers Association, before his death extended his greetings to the People's Literature Publishing House on its 30th anniversary.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUANGZHOU MANDARIN EDUCATION--Recently, a responsible comrade of the Guangzhou Municipal Education Bureau told reporters that it is necessary to effectively popularize Mandarin in the primary and middle schools. He pointed out that currently the education front in the municipality is slow in popularizing Mandarin. The leadership of many schools are not paying enough attention to this work. In teaching, many schools are accustomed to using dialects and are afraid of using Mandarin. [HK010817 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 29 Mar 81]

TOTAL PUBLICATIONS--According to statistics of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, the number of newspapers and periodicals published in China has increased from some 1,200 in 1978 to more than 2,500 now, with a total circulation of more than 160 million. This means an annual circulation of 17 billion copies of newspapers and periodicals, an all-time record. [OW091401 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Apr 81]

BOOK ON YE TING--Beijing 5 Apr (XINHUA)--On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Ye Ting's death, the People's Publishing House will publish "In Memory of Ye Ting," a book which contains articles written many years ago by Zhou Enlai, Chen Yi, Nie Rongzhen, Zhang Yunyi, Guo Moruo, Liao Chengzhi and Zhou Shidi in mourning and memory of Ye Ting. In addition, the book also contains other articles written by Ye Ting's relatives and comrades in arms. In its appendix are five articles about the Nanchang uprising written by Ye Ting himself. [OW091401 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0026 GMT 5 Apr 81]

FUJIAN BIRTH CONTROL--The Fuzhou Municipal CCP Committee and the Municipal People's Government in Fujian held a meeting on 4 April to commend outstanding units and individuals for their efforts in planned parenthood. The natural population growth rate in Fuzhou during 1980 was 3.1 per thousand as compared with 5.9 per thousand in 1979. 21,000 couples in the city had limited themselves to a single child. [OW091347 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 5 Apr 81]

HUNAN BROADCASTING MEETING--The provincial meeting of responsible persons of prefectural and municipal broadcasting bureaus of Hunan ended in Changsha on 4 April. The participants pledged to further improve the quality of propaganda in disseminating the party's line, principles and policies and to make efforts to run rural areas' wide broadcasting networks efficiently and to expand radio and television coverage. (Che Wenyi), deputy director of the Provincial CCP Committee's propaganda department, and a responsible person of the Provincial Broadcasting bureau addressed the meeting. [OW091356 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Apr 81]

'WORKS OF CEAUSESSCU'--Beijing, March 18 (XINHUA)--The second volume of the "Selected Works of Ceausescu" in the Chinese language translation has been issued by the People's Publishing House and is now available in Xinhua bookstores in Beijing. The volume includes reports and speeches by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the period 1969 to 1973. The translation of the first volume was published in 1979 and the third and the last volume is still in preparation. The publication of the book is intended to strengthen the friendly relations between the two Communist parties, Chinese and Romanian, and help the Chinese people have a better understanding of Romania's achievements and experience in socialist construction. [Text] [OW200052 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 18 Mar 81]

SHANGHAI WORKERS THEATER--Shanghai, 6 Apr (XINHUA)--Twenty workers troupes from Shanghai's factories, state farms and schools have just completed 19 days of sparetime play performances for audiences of the city's cultural palaces and workers clubs. The five multi-act and 24 one-act plays were all written by workers in their spare time. Weng Zhendong, director of the office in charge of the performances, said, "The performances are intended to boost workers' sparetime play activities and enrich their sparetime cultural life, so they will work still harder to modernize China." Some of the plays, a number of which will be chosen for public performances in May, depict how young street cleaners grow up healthily, how workers produce high-quality goods and how older, model workers help young workers. Shanghai's 11 urban districts all have workers cultural palaces and clubs, which have set up sparetime performance troupes and teams of all kinds. The troupes specialize in Shanghai opera, chorus, plays, dance and acrobatics. [Text] [OW061115 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 6 Apr 81]

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